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RESEARCH REPORT NO.1

HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN RURAL LESOTHO:

A VILLAGE-LEVEL CASE STUDY

BY

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

The research on which this paper is based forms one part of a larger research project conducted in 1976-77 under the Department of Social Anthropology of the University of Cambridge. The aim of that project was to complement the numerous studies of the political economy of migrant labour in Lesotho with a detailed, year-long village level case study of social relations and economic activities of rural women in relation to male migrant labour. Much of the specific data I collected on rural income and expenditure could not be analysed or reported in my dissertation for lack of time and space. It is the income and expenditure data which forms the basis of the present report.

I am deeply grateful to the Institute of Southern African Studies of the National University of Lesotho for enabling me to find the time and resources to prepare this report. I am particularly grateful to Dr. B. Setai, Acting Director of the Institute, for believing that this type of micro-level village study could make a useful contribution to economic analysis in Lesotho.

My appreciation for the cooperation and assistance of the chief and residents of the village of Ha Potsane in the Mohale's Hoek District where this research was carried out has already been stated in my dissertation. My particular thanks go to my research assistants Mahlapane Tsosane, Tlalane Mahooana and Teboho Mokoaleli, and to the 33 households who kept detailed accounts of cash flows for four months during 1977.

It is their work, not mine, which forms the basis of this study.

N O T E

The currency referred to in this paper is the loti (plural maloti), which is made up of one hundred lisente (singular sente). The loti and sente circulate at par with the South African rand and cent. In May 1977, midway through the data collection, one rand was worth US \$1.15.

1. A B S T R A C T

As part of a doctoral research project concerning Basotho women's economic and social strategies in relation to male migrant labour, a study of sources and allocations of household funds was conducted in a village in southern Lesotho in 1977. Thirty-three households kept written records of all cash received and spent during January, April, July and October. This report analyses the data in light of planned participant observation throughout the year, information collected concerning household structure, economic assets and economic activities, and in the larger context of Lesotho's position as a labour reserve and market for South Africa.

Analysis of the cash flow records is presented in terms of the four seasons of the year represented, and in terms of three groups defined by the status of household heads: those headed by an absent married migrant worker; those headed by a married man who was resident in the village; and those headed by a resident woman who was widowed, separated, divorced or deserted. Tables are given showing the mean amounts of money received from various sources and expended in various ways for the entire sample and then broken down by season, and then by type of household. Detailed discussion of various types and amounts of income and expenditure in each category is also given, as well as case studies showing individual variations within each household type.

The following major themes are developed in the detailed analysis:

- The dominant importance, but irregularity, of migrant remittances for households with a male migrant worker in South Africa.
- The relative unimportance of agriculture as a source of cash, despite its limited role in provision of food, fodder and fuel, and the continuing concern to cultivate fields in order to maintain land rights.
- The importance of brewing and related activities, particularly for households with no incomes from male migrants.
- The very limited employment opportunities for rural women and their willingness to take even very low-paying jobs or to seek any type of income generating activity, despite domestic and agricultural responsibilities.
- The importance of building and furnishing homes, particularly for young families with earnings from migrant husbands and labour and management provided by resident wives.
- The dominance of South African imported foods, consumer goods and building materials, particularly in the period studied, when migrant wages increased dramatically but local production of desired goods was very limited.

- The complex pattern of rural differentiation in Lesotho, which is partly due to the natural process of household development and decline and individual growth and aging, but compounded by the migrant labour system with resultant separations and potentially disastrous disruptions to health, income, and family relationships. Case studies consider some of the most seriously disadvantaged households, as well as the role which a few prosperous, entrepreneurially-oriented households play in the village. Traditional interrelationships between rich and poor are considered, as well as the emergence of new forms of class distinctions in relation to the larger national and Southern African context.

Finally, some specific suggestions are made for the design of development activities in light of the diverse needs of the groups discussed in this report.

2. INTRODUCTION

The aims of this paper are (1) to present details of household cash income and expenditure as reported in 1977 by a sample of households in a village in the lowlands of Lesotho; (2) to give a profile of the village economy through discussion of these data; (3) to identify some of the constraints on the rural economy of Lesotho; and (4) to make some proposals for programs of economic assistance to such communities.

There are many economists at work in Lesotho, and a number of studies have been carried out concerning such aspects of the national economy as migrant labour, agricultural production, marketing systems, imports and exports, employment and unemployment, inflation, balance of payments, etc. However, with the exception of Monyake's Report on the Demographic Component of the Rural Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey of 1967-8 (1), the 1972/2 Urban Household Budget Survey Report (2), a related report by Marres and Vander Wiel on the poverty datum line for Lesotho (3), and Wallman's study of agricultural development projects (4), there is very little data available at the micro-economic level concerning the day-to-day economic activities of Basotho villagers. Yet these people are the dependents of migrant workers and are themselves the agricultural producers, the petty traders, the domestic workers (paid and unpaid), the consumers, and the reproducers of the labour force. It is my hope that this paper will help to fill this gap, and stimulate other researchers to conduct more thorough village-level economic studies.

Following the introduction, there is a discussion of methodology, including the advantages and limitations of this approach to village-level economics, and the limitations of the specific data being analysed in this paper. Section four gives a general description of the village and its economy, as well as details of the sample selected for the household income and expenditure study. Section five presents the basic data on reported cash income of the households, with analysis of sources, amounts, and differences between subgroups and between individual households. Section six presents similar data and analysis concerning recorded expenditures. Section seven provides a summary, identifying major constraints on the village economy and suggesting areas in which economic development projects could be directed to meet the specific needs of the diverse rural position.

3. METHODOLOGY

This income and expenditure study must be seen in the context of the larger doctoral research project of which it was a part (5). Thus, this report will first discuss the general methodology used during a fourteen-month research period in 1976-77, and then focus more specifically on the methodology employed in the income and expenditure study itself.

Methodology Employed Throughout the Village Research Project

In order to examine rural Basotho women's economic activities and social relations, the research design involved a combination of participatory observation and systematic quantitative data collection. After an initial period of language study and orientation to Lesotho, a single large village, Ha Potsane, in the south-western lowlands near Mphahle's Hoek, was selected for a year-long case study. Through the kind assistance of district officials and the local chief and people, I was given a house and allowed to live as a resident of the village for fourteen months. Several villagers were employed to assist with data collection, translation and tabulation. All of the villagers were hospitable and friendly and assisted me by answering questions, sharing activities, teaching me about their way of life, and welcoming me as a participating member of the community.

Quantitative Data Collection. A number of studies were conducted during the fieldwork period, some designed to elicit attitudes and opinions, some to collect life histories and interpretations of significant activities, and others to obtain basic demographic and economic information. Since I was a resident of the village, I either conducted the studies myself or supervised several research assistants.

The studies which were most important in providing background for interpreting the income and expenditure study were the following:

Basic Household Survey. A Mosotho assistant and I interviewed the household head or other resident adult in each of the 296 households of the village. We recorded demographic information, education, employment and marriage histories, and details on agricultural activities and economic assets. This survey was conducted immediately upon arrival in the village, and again 12 months later in order to allow for updating and correction of information. These data were processed by the computer at the University of Cambridge.

Agricultural Production and Cooperation Survey. Early in 1977, I interviewed 225 of the households to collect information on field crops and livestock care. My particular focus was on the social relations of production; hence detailed records were made of cooperative activities, labour exchange, and cash payments

for ploughing, weeding and harvesting. I did not attempt to collect field statistics on agricultural yields, cost of inputs, sales, profits etc. I have neither the training of an agricultural economist nor the time and budget to engage in such research. Furthermore, an agricultural economist associated with the Senqu River Agricultural Extension Project was conducting exactly that sort of work in the southern districts in 1977, and I did not wish to interfere with or duplicate his work (6). Thus, my quantifiable information on agriculture is limited. Nevertheless, it provides some background to the income and expenditure study.

Time Use Study. A study of women's daily activities was conducted by asking a sample of 38 women to report in detail their daily activities throughout two days, several weeks apart. The reports were recorded on scoresheets divided into fifteen minute intervals, allowing for a careful tabulation of amount of time spent on various activities. This study provides some means of quantifying the domestic and agricultural labour of rural women--activities which cannot easily be measured in monetary terms. A complete study of non-monetized aspects of local production should be conducted, measuring inputs of labour, time and materials, and measuring material outputs. However, without such a detailed, difficult and expensive ecological study, the brief Time Use Study I conducted at least gives some indication of non-monetized aspects of the village economic system.

Interviews Concerning Wage Employment. A brief interview schedule was used to obtain information concerning type of work and hours and wages of locally-employed men and women. These people generally gave accurate and verifiable information. Unfortunately, I was not able to collect comparable information for migrant workers. This was partly because of my own busy schedule of other research tasks, and partly because migrants were rarely in the village. When home on leave, the migrants were usually too busy to be interviewed, or unwilling to give precise details about their wages. Furthermore, most wives of migrant workers do not know how much salary plus overtime pay and bonuses their husbands actually earn. Thus my knowledge of migrant earnings in 1977 is primarily based on published information (7) and on mine recruiting company statistics.

Study of Home Brewing. I conducted a detailed study concerning social and economic aspects of the preparation and sale of home-brewed beer, which is one of the principal income-generating activities of rural Basotho women. During two different weeks, an assistant interviewed every woman who had brewed and sold beer, recording economic and social details on each visit.

Case Studies of Other Economic Activities. Detailed information was collected on many other village economic activities, such as house construction, local savings and burial insurance associations, bridewealth transactions, pyramid-buying through mail-order catalogues, etc. Although much of this information has not yet

been published, some is included in my thesis and it all provides background to the data analysed in this paper.

Income and Expenditure Study. See details below, which constitute the major part of this report.

Other Structured Studies of Attitudes, Values and Social Relations. A number of other studies were conducted to obtain additional demographic information and to explore attitudes, values and concerns of villagers. These included formal and informal interviews, life histories, family genealogies, diaries, drawings, sentence-completion studies, a leadership survey, etc. Most of these studies provide important systematically collected background information upon which I have drawn in interpreting the income and expenditure study reported in this paper.

Participatory Observation. An essential part of most anthropological fieldwork is a period of participatory observation during which the researcher lives as much as possible under the same conditions as other village residents. I spent fourteen months as a participant observer in the village which was the focus of my study. Thus, while I was conducting and tabulating the quantitative and attitudinal studies mentioned above, I was also learning about many other aspects of village life. Since participant observation is rarely included among economic research methods, I think it is important to emphasize the contributions which such an approach can make to village level economic studies.

1. By living in the village and personally conducting or supervising each study, it was possible to maintain consistency and quality in data collection. This is extremely difficult to do in broad sample surveys conducted by many paid enumerators in scattered locations. I was also able to make visual checks and obtain corroboration from other village residents of answers given in structured surveys.
2. I was able to experience in my own life many aspects of the village economic system, and thus to learn about details which I would not have thought to have asked about in the original surveys and interviews. Thus, for example, I only learned about the many reciprocities involved in a village feast when I myself made such a feast to thank the village for their hospitality. Nothing but personal experience can reveal details of the exchanges of food, drink, fuel, labour etc., that are involved in feast preparations. Likewise nothing but a day of being in the field, of smearing a floor with fresh mud and dung, of attempting to grind with traditional grinding stones, or of carrying water from the spring can reveal the nature of the time and labour such tasks require.

3. The day-to-day life I shared with my neighbours, as well as informal conversations on all sorts of occasions, taught me much about the needs, problems, frustrations and hopes of village people. Such information could not have been gathered from formal studies.
4. Finally, and most important, being a participant in village life allowed me to become acquainted with certain individuals representative of a variety of economic circumstances. Thus, the bare facts of statistical analysis can be given flesh and blood by detailed case studies of typical and exceptional individuals.

In conclusion, I believe that both the structured collection of quantifiable information, and the insights gained from a period of participant observation, make complementary and equally essential contributions to village level micro-economic studies. Furthermore, I believe that such village level in-depth case studies are essential in order to give meaning to the broad national level macro-economic studies and sociological sample surveys which are much more common.

Methodology Employed in the Income-Expenditure Study

On the basis of my initial two months in the village and preliminary interviews, I became aware of people's overwhelming preoccupation with chelete, that is, money. There seemed to be a constant anxiety about how it could be obtained, how it must be spent, and about the sufferings of those without it. Therefore, I felt it essential to obtain detailed information about cash flows within the village at the same time as I was pursuing many other lines of investigation for my broader research project.

I decided to follow a procedure used in Wallman's study and in the Lesotho Government Urban Household Budget Survey. I asked a sample of village households to keep written records of their cash income and expenditures for four months, one during each season of the year.

Conducting the research was itself a part of the learning process of the doctoral program: I have learned from the failures as well as the successes of the 1977 fieldwork period. I am now aware of a number of weaknesses in the income and expenditure study, as well as changes I would make if I were to conduct similar research again. It is with this qualification that I present this report, including a detailed discussion of methodology. Hopefully the data and analysis will be of some interest, despite its limitations. Since little comparable material has been published in Lesotho, the Institute for Southern African Studies of the National University of Lesotho has encouraged and enabled me to prepare this data for publication. Hopefully there will be others interested in

conducting similar studies employing more refined research methods and obtaining more complete village economic data in the future.

Unit of Analysis: The Household. Throughout my fieldwork, I collected information concerning the 296 households comprising the single village in which research was conducted. I use the term 'household' (lelapa) to refer to the group of individuals under the jural control of an individual recognised by the chief and other villagers as 'household head' (hlooho ea lelapa). This is usually an individual to whom the residential site on which the group resides is understood to belong by right of allocation (to an adult male), inheritance (by his adult son), or marriage and subsequent widowhood (of his wife).

Almost half of the households in the village (45.9%) were nuclear family units consisting of husband, wife and children. The remainder were about equally divided between larger extended families in which additional adults were living, and small residual households with only one adult member, usually a widow or separated or divorced person, perhaps living with one or two children or grandchildren.

In this study, each household is considered as the focal point of cash flows: the earnings and the expenditures of its various members. In conducting the research, one member was asked to record all known household income and expenditure. Unfortunately, the migrant labour situation in Lesotho creates particular difficulties for a study of household finance. Some individuals who are de jure members of a household are in fact living and working away from home for most of the year. For example, in 67.2% of the village households, there was at least one man working in South Africa, and in other families there were absentees working in distant parts of Lesotho. In such cases, the resident household manager (usually the migrant's wife or mother) has little or no knowledge of the migrant's actual earnings, nor of the way he uses the money which he keeps for himself or sends to other relatives and friends.

Similarly the household manager cannot know all the financial transactions of every member of the household even if they are resident in the same house. Thus even where both husband and wife are living together, or when a migrant is home on leave, each may keep his or her money matters secret from the other. The wife may try to keep as her own any money she earns by brewing or is given by friends in order to buy food, soap, clothes, or items of which her husband might not approve; the husband may keep a large portion of his earnings for drink, tobacco and gifts, or use it for major expenditures such as livestock or bridewealth without discussing these with his wife. Furthermore, large extended households include the cash flows of both the senior adult who is household head, and one or more subordinate families consisting of a married son and his wife or a divorced or unmarried daughter with children. Some financial matters are known by all adult

household members, while others may be known by each individual adult or subordinate family only. It must be expected that any account of household finances can only be an imperfect reflection of the complex cash flows where several adult income producers and consumers are co-resident. Thus it must be understood that this study reports only cash flows into and out of the rural households, and only that portion of household finance which our respondents were able and willing to record.

The Sample. This study is based on income and expenditure records kept by a stratified sample of households (11% of all village households). The sample was selected to be representative of three main categories, with the number in each category of the sample corresponding roughly to the proportion of each type of household in the total village (see Table 1).

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES IN VILLAGE AND SAMPLE

Type of household	In Village		In Sample	
	Number	%	Number	%
A - Headed by an absent married male (a migrant worker)	116	39.2	13	39.4
B - Headed by a resident married male (locally employed or not working)	68	23.0	9	27.3
C - Headed by a woman (widowed)	97 (81)	32.8 (27.4)	11 (9)	33.3 (27.3)
(separated)	(61)	(5.4)	(2)	(6.0)
(Others not included in the sample are households headed by widowed or separated men)	15	5.1	-	-
TOTAL	296	100.1*	33	100

* Rounding error

The original design called for a sample of 40 households, but the number was reduced to 33 because seven either dropped out during the course of the year, or submitted records which were too incomplete to be useful.

Records could only be kept in households where there was an adult sufficiently literate to keep simple accounts and willing to do so for four months of the year. Thus the sample is unavoidably biased in several ways. First, households without functionally literate resident members could not be included. For this reason, small households headed by elderly men or women who had never attended school were unavoidably excluded. However, since about 90% of the households in the village include at least one member with four or more years of education, the group excluded is small. This omission is unfortunate, nevertheless, for such households are often the most poverty-stricken in the community; their absence means that this study does not reflect the most economically disadvantaged group. A second group which is omitted is a small but very important one in the village economy: large prosperous households with a variety of business ventures, several wage earners, and often with dependent employees or clients. There were only four or five such households in the village but their business ventures such as cafes, tractors, trucks, butcher shops, cement block sales, etc., are important to village economic life. However, such households were too busy with their own complex economic activities to be willing to keep additional records for this income and expenditure study. Thus they are not represented in this sample. Although quantifiable economic data are thus unavailable on the poorest and the richest of the households, their activities were observed and studied informally throughout the fieldwork period, and will be mentioned at appropriate points in this paper.

With the exceptions of these two extreme groups, I believe that this sample of 33 is representative of the range of village household types (see Figures 1 to 4 below).

Timing of the Study. Following the Lesotho Government Urban Household Budget Survey procedure, it was decided to sample the four climatic and agricultural seasons of the year. I asked households to keep records during January, April, July and October. It would of course have been preferable to have had accounts kept continuously throughout the year, but such a research design was unrealistic. I could not have personally supervised such a continuous data collection process without neglecting other aspects of my doctoral research program, and I could not have hoped to obtain the cooperation of so many informants for such a sustained period of time.

The implications of sampling only four months must be recognized. This means first, that when I speak of 'average monthly income' or 'average monthly expenditure', I refer to an average of the four months sampled, and not to an average of all 12 months of the year. Secondly, since there is no record for the months which intervene between those sampled, major receipts of income or major expenditures just before or just after the recorded periods are not known. Thus there is sometimes a striking inconsistency between a household's reported income and reported expenditure,

which would not exist if full annual records had been kept. In one case, for example, a wife of a migrant received no cash income at all during January, yet spent M102.35 during that month, because her husband had put enough money in the bank during a Christmas holiday visit to cover household expenses for several months. In another case, a woman received M340.70 from her husband in January, but only reported spending M78.95 that month, saving the rest of the money to cover the subsequent unreported two months in which she received no further remittances.

Such limitations, imposed by the fact that only four months were reported, must be recognized. There are, however, two checks which suggest that the data are nevertheless representative of the year-long economic situation. The first is the fact that the expenditure averages for the four months sampled correspond reasonably closely to details of household expenditures given in Marres and van der Wiel's study of the poverty datum line adjusted for the year 1977 (8). The second check is provided by a series of informal interviews I conducted concerning income received during the months in between the April and July recording periods. In most cases these interviews showed patterns of cash receipts which in May and June were consistent with the averages calculated for the months during which detailed reports were kept.

The Conduct of the Study and Reliability of the Data. A literate adult in each cooperating household was asked to keep a day-by-day written record of all money received by resident members and all cash expenditures. In all but five cases, it was the wife or female household head who agreed. Two husbands, one daughter and two daughter-in-laws kept records in the other five households, and in many households school children helped at times.

School exercise notebooks had been prepared in advance with income pages ruled to allow space for date, source of money and amount, and expenditure pages ruled to allow for date, details of each expenditure and amount of money spent.

Each account keeper was visited in the last week of December, 1976, and given a ruled notebook and pencil. At this time the procedure was explained. They were asked to begin on January, 1. Since this was a new activity to most people, each household was again visited during the first week in January in order to provide assistance in beginning the accounts. Subsequent visits were made at the beginning, middle and end of each of the four months. Often it was necessary to interview the record keeper about all the household activities during the previous few days to remind her of items she might have omitted and to assist her in making accurate reports. If it had been possible to give such assistance day-by-day, or even week-by-week throughout the four months, the records would have been more complete, but our time and resources were limited.

Most participants were very cooperative. Some were already

able to keep very complete records, and others readily learned to do so, apparently enjoying the opportunity to see where their money actually went. One woman even said that she was glad to participate because it gave her a way to show her husband exactly how she used the money he sent. With the written record she could convince him that it was not frivolous spending but inflation which caused her to need more money than he was sending. Such participants were meticulous in recording details of items bought in the shops. There is no doubt, however, that even the most willing participants did not record certain items through negligence, pre-occupation with other activities, or deliberate non-reporting. Furthermore, as already stated, record keepers could not be aware of all the financial transactions in large, complex households, nor of the total earnings or spending by absent members of the household. Thus we recognise that this study only covers the cash flows of that portion of the household living in Lesotho, and only that which was remembered and reported. There are certainly unavoidable omissions in these data. Nevertheless the amount of detail given, the internal consistency of most books throughout the four months, and the correspondence of recorded amounts with known prices in the local shops is remarkable.

Focus on Monetary Flows. Another serious limitation on this study is that it is confined to cash income and expenditure only. Obviously a more complete picture of the household finances would require an estimate of the value of agricultural yields, fuel, vegetables and building materials produced or gathered from common lands, as well as material gifts received by each household, and the value of inherited assets such as buildings and furnishings. Likewise it would require knowledge of all crops, livestock and other goods given away, bartered or invested in income-generating activities. However, such an assessment of the value of material goods produced, received, given and invested is an extremely difficult and time-consuming task, far beyond what I as a single researcher without research funds or technical assistance could undertake. Thus I decided to concentrate on monetary flows only, supplemented by information given by each household concerning agricultural yields and household assets.

Were I to conduct such a survey again, I would certainly try to obtain more accurate information on the production and flows of material goods. Lacking such an opportunity, I present this material for what it is, a limited study of 33 individual households' reports of cash flows during four sample months of 1977.

4. THE COMMUNITY IN WHICH THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

Location of the Village

This study was conducted in Ha Potsane, a large village in the southern lowlands of Lesotho, just a few miles from the district headquarters town of Mphahle's Hoek. In 1977 it contained 296 households and 1484 individuals. It was thus large enough to encompass a wide range of life styles, representative of diverse social and economic circumstances; yet it was small enough to constitute a single community under one chief, with its own school, chief's office, local court and shared political and ritual occasions. Ha Potsane is located near a major town but not in it, near the main motor road but not on it, near the South African border and yet at a point where the mountains of Lesotho come right down to the edge of the village. Livestock rearing, field cultivation and gardening are important activities for many villagers. A few people have found wage employment in the village, in Mphahle's Hoek or elsewhere in Lesotho, while the majority of households depend upon the wages earned by those who are migrant workers in South Africa.

Household Assets

In their study of the poverty datum line in Lesotho, Marres and van der Wiel point out that there are two basic ways to consider the level of wealth and poverty in a community: the stock approach and the flow approach (9). Our study of household income and expenditure is concerned with monetary flows only. However, in order to provide additional background to the community studied, some information will be given here regarding the stock of assets of village households, as well as rough estimates of total income from wage earning household members.

In our household survey questions were asked regarding household size, number of migrants and other wage earners, livestock, fields and other major household assets. Table 2 summarizes this information for all village households and for the 33 households in the sample. Examination of the range for each item and the percent of households having each item, plus additional details which cannot be included for lack of space, indicate that there is considerable inequality in distribution of these assets. For example, although the average cattle holding is 1.5, 66.9% of the households are without cattle; these must obtain assistance in ploughing from friends, relatives, sharecropping partners, or through cash payments. Of course there is some trade-off effect such that young households which do not yet have fields and cattle usually have cash income from a male migrant worker. Similarly, older households where the husband is no longer working may have employed sons, or accumulated local productive assets. The most seriously disadvantaged are those which lack both agricultural

Table 2

HOMESTEAD, AGRICULTURAL AND OTHER ASSETS FOR ALL VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS
AND FOR SAMPLE

Item	All Village Households			Sample Households	
	Mean per House- hold	Range	Percent of Households Having Item	Mean per House- hold	Percent of Households Having Item
<u>Household Composition</u>					
De jure members	5.0	1-12	100.0%	5.7	100.0%
Employed members	1.4	0-6	84.8	1.1	72.7
Male migrants (RSA)	.9	0-4	67.2	.7	60.6
<u>Home Assets</u>					
Buildings	1.6	1-4	100.0	1.8	100.0
Fence	.4	0-1	41.9	.6	60.6
Water tap in yard	.1	0-1	13.9	.3	27.3
Garden	.7	0-1	66.2	.7	66.6
<u>Agricultural Assets</u>					
Fields	1.7	0-4	83.8	1.5	75.8
Cattle	1.6	0-20	33.1	2.1	33.3
Total Stock Units*	16.3	0-240	54.6	21.9	54.5
Pigs	.5	0-12	33.3	.9	48.5
Chickens	3.8	0-50	55.4	4.1	81.8
Ploughs	.2	0-1	22.6	.3	30.3
Carts	.03	0-1	3.4	.03	3.0
Tractors	.007	0-1	.7	.03	3.0
<u>Other Assets</u>					
Truck or Car	.03	0-1	3.0	.06	6.1
Bank Account	.4	0-1	33.9	.4	39.4
Radio	.4	0-1	43.2	.8	75.8

* The total number of stock units is a weighted measure of livestock constructed in the following way:

A sheep or goat = one stock unit; A cow, horse or donkey = five stock units.

assets and wage earners. These households are most often headed by elderly widowed individuals or younger deserted, divorced or separated women.

A clearer picture of the degree of inequality and the representativeness of our sample is obtained by the use of four indices of household wealth which were constructed as a part of the total village research project. An index of agricultural assets (fields, livestock and tools) and an index of non-agricultural assets (buildings, household equipment etc.) were constructed on the basis of data collected in our household surveys. In addition, an index of estimated wage income was constructed on the basis of salary estimates for various categories of workers in 1977, multiplied by the number of household members in each category. It must be remembered that this is a measure of total potential earnings, not of amounts of money actually remitted to Lesotho for the use of resident household members. Nor does it include income from local production and other informal income-generating activities. The fourth index is a sum of the other three.

Details of how each index was constructed and tabulated as a part of computer processing of all household data are given under figures 1 - 4. The indices were calculated with one index unit very approximately equal to M25.00 at 1977 prices. Because of the rough nature of these calculations and the incomplete data on which they are based, it would give a false concreteness to try to interpret them directly in monetary terms. Despite these limitations, the scores on these four indices give a rough idea of wealth distribution patterns for the sample and for the village as a whole.

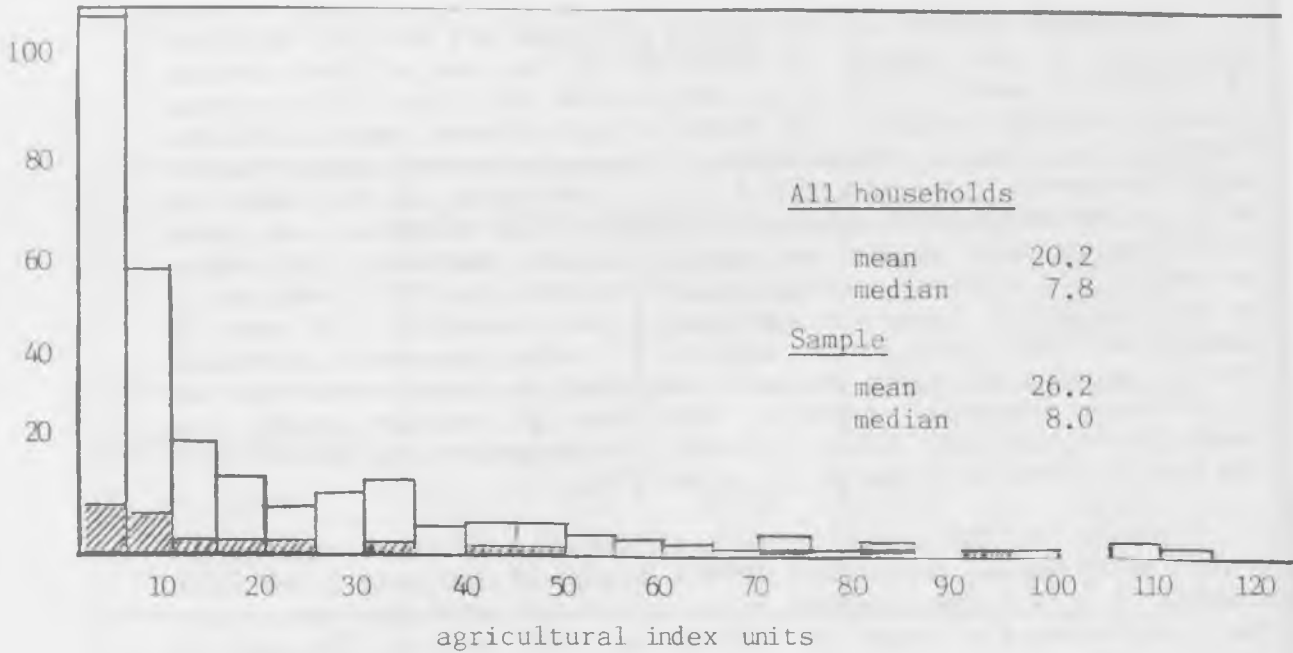
Figures 1 through 4 show the distribution of all village households on each of these indices. Superimposed on each graph is an indication of the distribution of the households included in our sample, showing the extent to which the 33 households are representatives of the range of each index. It can be seen that the sample is reasonably representative of the entire village population, although it fails to include sufficient cases at the lowest and highest extremes.

The most striking feature of the four graphs is the degree of inequality revealed by the distributions, particularly on the agricultural asset index (Figure 1). Note that the lowest and largest group (score 0 - 4) actually includes two distinct types of households in quite different agricultural circumstances. Since we counted a field as worth only two index units, people with one or even two fields (and no tools or livestock) could fall into this bottom group on the graph, along with those lacking fields altogether. There were in fact 28 village households with zero agricultural assets, in contrast to 36 with two units and 45 with three or four units. The distribution on the agricultural index is the most skewed of the four although this would have been less so had we allotted more index points to each field.

Key For Figure 1 - 4: WEALTH DISTRIBUTIONS ON FOUR INDICES

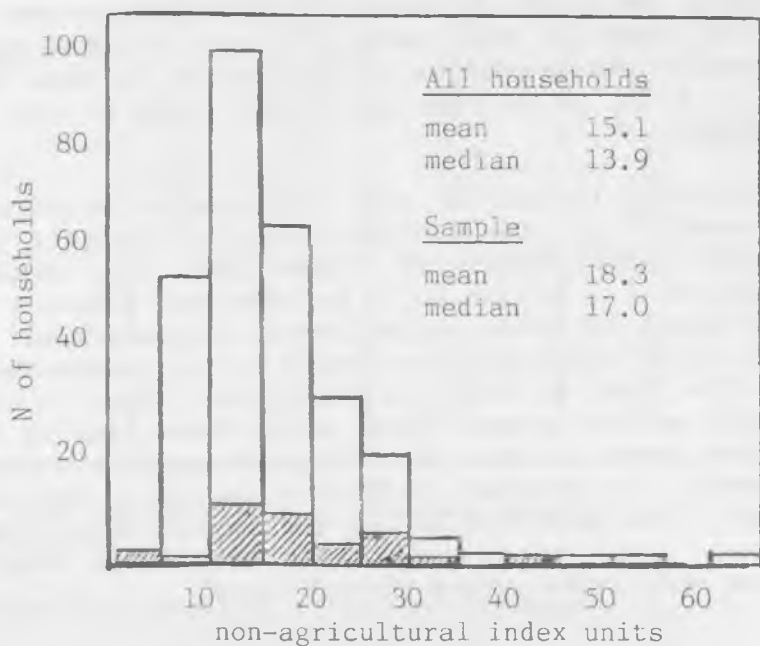
Distribution for total village = 
 Distribution for sample = 

Figure 1: INDEX OF AGRICULTURAL ASSETS



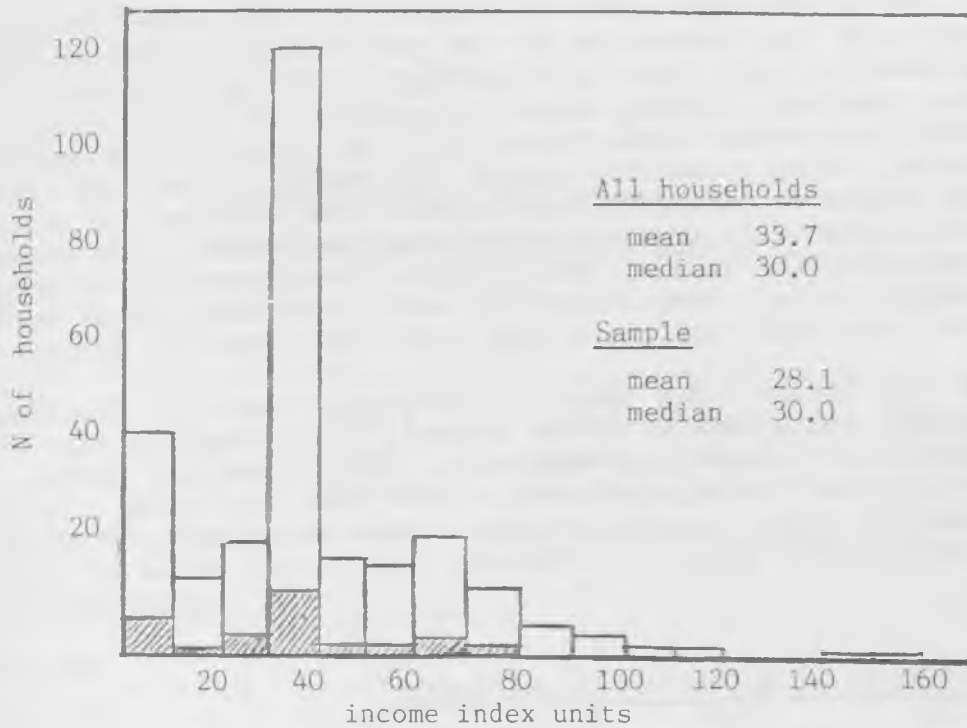
Agricultural Assets = sheep + goats + 5(cattle) + 5(equines) + plough + planter + 4(cart) + 2(field)

Figure 2: INDEX OF NON-AGRICULTURAL ASSETS



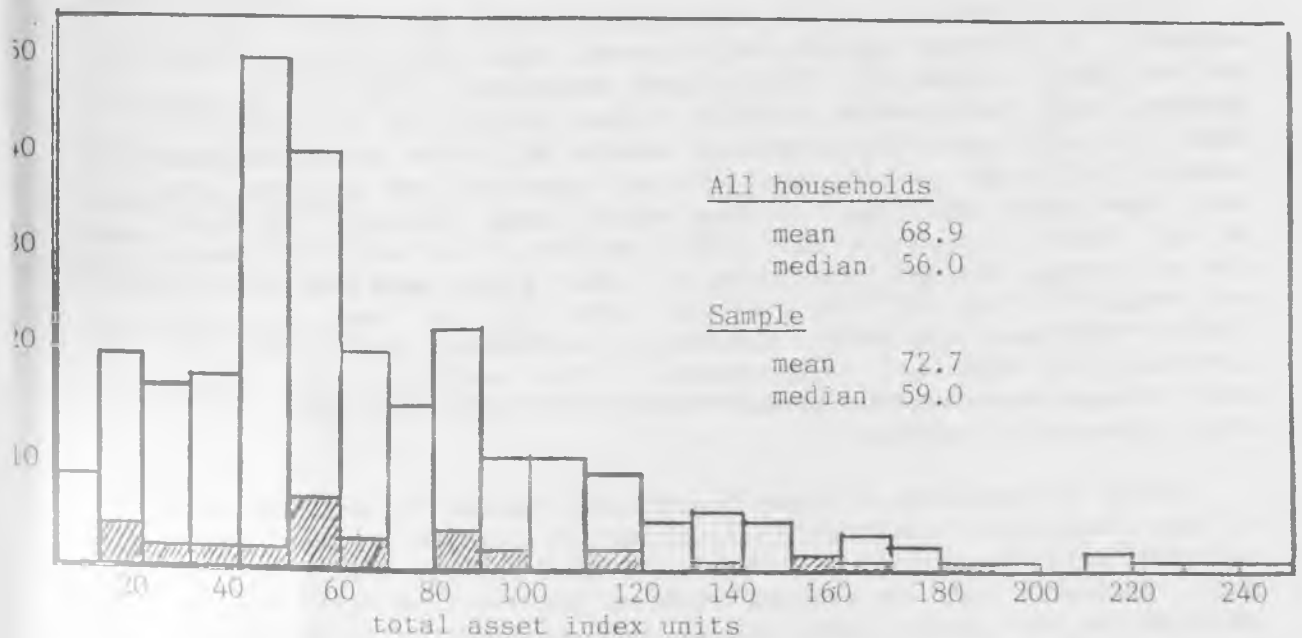
Non-agricultural assets = radio + sewing machine + fence + 2(water tap) + 5(rondavel or thatched house) + 10(metal roofed house) + 10(vehicle or tractor) + household furnishing, scaled from 0 to 4 + 2(bank account)

Figure 3: INDEX OF ESTIMATED WAGE INCOME



Estimated wage income = 30(male migrants in RSA) + 20(males employed in Lesotho) + 15(female migrants in RSA) + 10(females employed in Lesotho)

Figure 4: INDEX OF TOTAL ASSETS



Total assets = A sum of the three separate indices

The non-agricultural asset distribution is less skewed because there are only two households at the very bottom of the scale, with no house at all (both are renting). All the rest have at least one thatched building which we scored five units, while a fair number have metal roofed houses which we scored as ten units, thus placing these households nearer the middle. Also note that some very expensive non-agricultural assets like vehicles and tractors were deliberately undervalued in order to prevent a few cases from distorting the means. Had vehicles been measured at more nearly market value, these households would have been placed much higher on this index and the spread would have been far greater.

The wage income index shows a substantial number of families in the middle range because of the presence of at least one migrant worker in 67.2% of all village households. On all indices, however, it is clear that the majority are at the lower end while a very few households score unusually high: those with many buildings and livestock, with trucks or tractors, and with a number of wage earners.

Economic Profile of Households in the Sample

Using the available information on household assets and estimated total income, we can give a more detailed profile of the economic position of the households in our sample, divided into three groups on the basis of the household head's marital status and residence. Table 3 gives details for each of the three groups, which can be compared with information for the entire village given in Table 2.

Group A consists of 13 households headed by absent migrant workers. 12 of these include only husband, wife and children (their own or foster children). The largest household, with nine de jure members, also includes an elderly widowed mother of the household head. In all cases the principal source of income is the migrant husband, although in one case both an unmarried son and the wife also have wage employment in the nearby town. Because the heads of all these households are still working, the household heads are on average younger than those of other groups and the families are smaller. Six of the thirteen have not yet been allocated fields, and many are still building or extending their homes and investing in homestead improvements. They are above the sample and village mean on the income index, but below the mean on all other measures of assets.

Group B consists of nine households, headed by men who were village residents throughout 1977, primarily engaged in local agricultural activity. Four of these men are retired and living on small pensions; one is retired with no pension; two are locally-employed in the nearby town; one is self-employed as an herbalist; and one is home between mine contracts, earning no money and engaging in no productive work for the whole year. Most of these household heads are mature men, older than those in group A, with larger

Table 3

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND ASSETS:
MEANS FOR SUB-GROUPS OF THE SAMPLE

	GROUP A Migrant Male Head	GROUP B Resident Male Head	GROUP C Female Head	TOTAL SAMPLE
<u>Household Composition</u>				
<u>De jure</u> size	5.3	6.2	5.6	5.7
<u>De facto</u> size	4.3	5.1	4.5	4.8
N of employed members	1.2	.8	1.3	1.1
N of male migrants	1.0	.2	.8	.7
Age of wife or female household head	31.4	40.2	53.7	41.2
<u>Household Assets</u>				
N of fields	.8	2.0	2.0	1.5
N of cattle	.9	2.1	2.9	2.1
Agricultural index score	22.8	27.4	29.3	26.2
Non-agricultural index score	16.7	20.0	18.9	18.3
Estimated income index score	33.1	21.1	28.2	28.1
Total asset index score	72.6	68.5	76.4	72.6

households. Several have adult children who are either working locally in the town or as migrants in South Africa. Three of the nine have employed sons as household members, while others continue to receive some financial assistance from sons or daughters who have established independent households elsewhere. One very large household contains 12 members, while the others range from four to eight members.

Group C consists of 11 households headed by women; nine are widows, one has long been deserted by her husband but continues living in her married home, and one is permanently separated and lives in the home that once belonged to her own parents. None of the women has wage employment, but five of the eleven have employed children who are household members, while most of the nine receive occasional financial assistance from other grown children. These household heads are on the average older than those in either group A or B. There is considerable range in household size: the largest has 12 members including two sons and two daughters with regular employment. The smallest has only two members -- a middle-aged widow and a young child. Five households consist of only a widow and two young children. Consistent with this range in household size and composition is a great range in economic position. Several of the widows were left by their deceased husbands in secure positions with houses, fields, livestock, children and other assets; others have no employed household members, few assets, and no means to plough even if they do have fields.

Overview of the Village Economy

Centrality of the Household, Homestead, and the Female Manager. Although households which are related to one another exchange and share in many ways, each household is considered as a separate economic unit with its own buildings, livestock, tools, field rights, and other assets. Ownership is normally vested in the household head: the husband, widow or eldest resident son.

The first concerns of a newly-married couple are to be allocated a building site, to construct a simple one or two-room house, and then, by moving to this new homestead, to establish their independence as an economic unit. The rural husband will usually seek employment in the mines of the Republic of South Africa, leaving his wife as household manager. She will be responsible for building and developing the homestead, furnishing and maintaining the house, feeding, clothing, educating and caring for the children and aged relatives, cultivating the fields, and supervising livestock care. Of the village men between 20 and 49 years of age, 79.2% were away as migrant workers for some portion of 1977. Thus the majority of young wives bear responsibility as household managers, using the remittances sent by their husbands for maintaining the economic activities of the household through the months the men are absent. Wives must act in accordance with the instructions of the men who

are sending the money; they usually also seek the advice of their husbands' relatives on important matters. Nevertheless, the wives of migrant workers are responsible for provisioning the family. Hence, it is wives who make the day-to-day decisions about allocation of funds, labour and other resources, and it is wives who feel the constant anxiety about where the money, labour, tools and other resources can be found.

The Food System. In the densely populated lowland areas such as the one studied here, the agricultural production of most households is far too small to yield marketable surpluses or even to meet most households' own needs. It has been estimated by van der Wiel that agriculture contributes only 17% of the average household income (6% from field crop and 11% from livestock) in two large rural areas studied (10). In the village investigated in our study, only 35 (15.6%) of the 225 households on which yield data was collected reported agricultural yields in 1976 which were sufficiently large to supply the minimum subsistence level of carbohydrates for a year. (This is calculated on a basis of 450 grams of carbohydrates per day, or 1.8 bags of grain per individual per year). Perhaps a third of these 35 had sufficient surplus to sell in unprocessed form, and at least a third brewed and sold beer regularly. Despite the low production in relation to income earned from other sources -- notably migrant labour -- agriculture and livestock remain very important in all communities in Lesotho where there is adequate land for cultivation and grazing.

In the village studied, maize, sorghum and beans are cultivated during the summer growing season and peas and wheat by a few families during the winter. Maize is usually picked green for several months; what remains to ripen and dry is then harvested and usually retained for domestic use. Beans, peas and wheat may be sold in small amounts to neighbours or in a few cases sold by the bag to government purchasing agencies. Sorghum is the most important crop as far as intra-village exchange is concerned. It may be sold as raw grain, as sprouted sorghum ('mela) prepared for brewing, and as home-brewed beer. One woman explained that for the Basotho 'Sorghum is life' (mabele ke bophelo), not because it is the subsistence food, but because 'it can be sold as beer and with the money we can buy tea and sugar and paraffin' (11).

In addition to the crops themselves, their byproducts have an economic significance which is often neglected. Maize cobs are used as fuel during the winter months. Women often vie for the chance to help others strip the kernels from the cobs in order to obtain this source of fuel. Immature sorghum heads and husks from threshing are used for animal feed, while the dry stalks of maize, sorghum or wheat are often brought to the homestead to be used as fuel or fodder.

Livestock remains important in the village economy, despite inadequate lowland grazing. About a third of the households own sheep or goats which provide small regular income from wool and

mohair, as well as food for ritual occasions or whenever an animal dies. Cattle, owned by about a third of the households, provide traction for ploughing and hauling, dung for both fuel and home plastering, milk, and meat. Cattle, like smallstock, are frequently used for ritual slaughter at weddings, funerals and on other occasions.

The economics of such feasts should be examined carefully by someone with the time and resources to do so. For example, I found that during the 14 months I lived in the village, there were about two head of cattle per month slaughtered for ritual purposes, and one or two sheep or goats per week. On such occasions all relatives and neighbours are invited to partake of the food and drink provided. Some village adults obtain food and drink several days a week by participating in such feasts and the preparations involved. Belief in the ancestors as well as concern with village social relations provide important sanctions which maintain the reciprocities involved in such occasions, assuring elderly villagers of meat which they might have no other means to obtain. Many destitute households must wait years after a death before they are able to finance a major feast to 'accompany the deceased' (phelehetso). Eventually, however, perhaps on the grounds of ill health or dreams, they will persuade some relative who may be working in the mines that he must provide the money to buy a cow plus other food and drink, so that the deceased may be properly honoured and social debts within the village may be repaid.

Cattle, small stock, and even horses and donkeys are also important in providing the traditional bridewealth payments, although money is now often substituted. Finally, horses, donkeys and oxcarts play important roles in village transport, and may provide small cash incomes to their owners if hired for transport.

All of these animals require kraals where they can be kept at night and herdboys to graze them during the day. Since so many young men are away as migrant workers young boys or elderly men must be found for this work. Some very poor families hire out their sons as herdboys, while families who own livestock must either keep their own sons from attending school, must foster the sons of others, or must hire other boys or old men for herding. The value of this labour, like the domestic and agricultural labour of women and children, should be considered in a complete analysis of village economic systems.

Pigs are often called 'the cattle of women' (likhomo tsa basali). Scorned by most men, they are reared by women, fed on household garbage and the residue from brewing, and can be slaughtered and sold by women as means of increasing their income. Similarly, women rear chickens and ducks for household use or for sale.

Garden produce is another important part of the village food system; two-thirds of the households have some kind of garden area although not all were being cultivated during 1977. In only three

of the 296 households were there enough peaches for a surplus to be sold, but all villagers eat fruit in season, and some have enough to preserve by bottling. A number of households reported occasional sale of vegetables, seedlings and seeds. It is important to remember that considerable capital investment is necessary to make productive gardens possible. Because livestock move freely about the village, a plot must be securely fenced before it is considered worthwhile to plant a garden. Small plots are occasionally fenced with brush or weeds. More typically in such a lowland village, entire residential sites are fenced by households which can afford to buy fence posts and wire costing between M50.00 and M100.00, and hire someone with the tools and ability to stretch a fence, paying about M30.00 for the labour. Water is likewise essential. Most villagers find the public water taps of the village's gravity fed water system and the village springs too distant or undependable for regular watering. At a cost of about M20.00 for piping and fittings, M5.00 to M10.00 for the labour of a villager with plumbing skills, and their own labour for digging, a family can install a pipe to carry water from the village system into their own yard. 13.9% of the households had done so by 1977; these were the only households with flourishing vegetable gardens producing marketable surpluses.

An often neglected aspect of the village food system is gathering of wild vegetables from the veld and fields whenever there has been sufficient rain to make growth possible. The daily quest for food is a part of every woman's work, and those without gardens or money to purchase lijelello (sauce for the staple food) must take time to gather in the fields. Similarly, there is a daily need for the fuel with which to cook; many women spend several hours a day collecting dung, brush, weeds and firewood unless they can afford to buy paraffin.

The Exchange System. A crucial aspect of the village economy is the exchange system whereby local products and imported foodstuffs and consumer goods are bought and sold.

In the town of Mohale's Hoek, there are two large, well-stocked supermarkets run by white trading companies and a number of small shops and cafés run by white, Indian, Portugese and Basotho traders. There is also a central market area where many Basotho women sell fruits, vegetables, cooked food and hand-sewn garments.

In the village, there are five cafes, which are small shops selling imported foods, paraffin, soap and other consumer goods. There is no village market place, but households with grain, legumes, vegetables, chickens, eggs or meat to sell do so informally. Likewise, there are a number of village women who collect firewood, reeds and thatching grass from common land to sell to their more affluent neighbours. The sale of home-brewed beer, as well as resale of imported beer and brandy, plays an important part in the local exchange system as well as local social life.

Knitted, crocheted and machine-sewn garments are occasionally sold by one villager to another. A few clay pots are made in a small village nearby, and craftsmen or women from other villages sometimes come selling grass items such as hats, brooms and beer strainers. In contrast to other areas of Lesotho, there is no developed external market for handcrafted goods, and no mohair spinning projects, so there appears to be little incentive for increased local production of such items. A few women knit or sew for their families, but most clothing, like most utensils, are purchased in the nearby town.

Agricultural equipment, tools, seeds, fertilizers, insecticides and animal food can be purchased from trading stores or government agencies in Mohale's Hoek. The Ministry of Agriculture also makes fruit trees, baby chickens, quality dairy cattle and other agricultural goods available. Cattle are often purchased by migrants in the Republic and brought across the border into Lesotho. One villager imports several sheep per week, some to supply his butcher shop, and others to sell live to village families for feasts or funerals. In addition to occasional local sales of livestock, there are also exchanges related to bridewealth payments.

In this village, as in most lowlands areas, house-building and homestead development are important aspects of the local economy as the population continues to grow and as newcomers to the village arrive, either retiring after a number of years of work in the Republic of South Africa, or as they move down from more isolated mountain areas. Although houses can be built from local materials, most are constructed from imported building materials purchased from Mohale's Hoek. There are villagers who sell thatching grass or make and sell cement blocks and mud bricks. Others construction work for those who can afford to pay.

The Labour Market. It can be seen that the economy of this village, like that of most villages in Lesotho, is not based on subsistence production. Rather it is a highly monetized economy penetrated at every point by the economy of the Republic of South Africa. Large amounts of cash are brought in by those with wage employment. Small amounts of money then circulate within the village exchange system, although most of the money is promptly repatriated to South Africa for imported goods. Basotho villagers should not be considered a rural peasantry, so much as a rural proletariat, supplying South Africa's labour needs, reproducing that labour force, and providing markets for the products of South African agriculture and industry.

In a small survey concerning attitudes and problems of village women, I asked 20 informants to list what they felt to be necessary for a good life. The most frequently mentioned item (13 respondents) was money. The next most frequently mentioned item was food (9). When asked how they could get these things, the most frequent answer was by working for money, and having money with

which to buy food. Although they also mentioned the need for fields (3), animals (6), harmonious marriage relations (5), and good health (7), the need for money and the importance of selling one's labour to meet subsistence needs were clear.

The most important source of cash income is that earned by male migrant workers in South Africa. Some village women also go as migrants. A few men and women have found wage employment locally, but jobs in the town and village are very limited and pay considerably less than most migrant work. Households with no wage earner are generally the poorest in the village; most of them depend heavily on occasional financial assistance from other households where they have relatives who are employed. Table 4 shows the number of men and women in different types of off-farm wage employment during 1977. Details of the contribution of wages to household budgets will be given in the section on income below.

The opportunity cost of agricultural work, compared with that of migrant labour, impels most able-bodied men to seek wage labour, leaving agriculture to women, young boys and old men. Wilken calculated that in 1976 a mine worker could earn M47.00, the estimated contribution which crops made to the average household's annual budget, in about 14 days of mine work (12). Little wonder that most young men seek off-farm wage employment. Yet subsistence cultivation continues, and farmers must find ways to obtain the labour necessary to plough, weed and harvest their fields. A variety of exchange arrangements exist whereby the land, labour, seeds, tools and traction necessary for farming can be obtained (13). The amounts of money or produce which can be earned by boys who herd and help in ploughing, by cattle owners who plough the fields of others, and by women who hoe and harvest on the fields of others, is very small compared to migrant earnings. Nevertheless, the small earnings of those who sell their labour to other farmers is important to the poorest households, particularly those who have no migrant members and no fields of their own to cultivate.

A variety of non-agricultural informal income-generating activities associated with house building, domestic work, and preparation of food, drink and clothing are engaged in by both village men and women who do not have wage employment. These will be discussed in detail below.

The quest for money and work, and the amount of time and energy devoted to consumer spending are dominant features of the village economy. Thus we will turn to the specific data from the study of cash income and expenditure, without losing sight of the larger context of the overall village economy which this brief sketch has provided.

Table 4

TYPES OF NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT OF VILLAGE MEN AND WOMEN,
AGED 17-64

Type of employment	Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Wage employment in South Africa</u>				
Mining	238		-	
Factory	6		-	
Railway	3		-	
Police	1		-	
Construction	3		-	
Domestic service	-		14	
Total employed in RSA	251	68.0%	14	3.5%
<u>Wage employment in Lesotho</u>				
Gvt, office work, courts	6		3	
Gvt, police	3		1	
Gvt, Public works	1		-	
Gvt, agriculture	3		-	
Teacher	1		5	
Bank or post office	2		3	
Cafe owner/manager	4		2	
Store clerk or labourer	4		10	
Travelling salesman	1		-	
Weaving	-		4	
Mining (mountains of Lesotho)	2		-	
Mechanic	5		-	
Driver	2		-	
Construction*	18		-	
Night watchman	2		-	
Hotel labourer	2		-	
Gardener	2		1	
Hospital attendant	-		2	
Sweeping in offices	-		3	
Domestic servant**	-		28	
Total employed in Lesotho	58	15.7	63	15.9
Total not employed	60	16.3	319	80.6
Total aged 17-64	369	100	396	100

* Some are on salary while others are on short-term contracts

** Half work full-time, and half work part time.

5. DATA ON HOUSEHOLD CASH INCOME

Average Income per Month for all Four Months

Each of the 33 cooperating households recorded the inflow of all money (what we call income for the purpose of this study) during four months of 1977, itemizing the amounts received and the sources from which the money came. Averages for the entire sample will be considered first, after which we will compare the three sub-groups.

Table 5 gives the monthly income as well as range and percent of total, averaged over the four sampled months. Income is broken down into seven major categories. Figure 5 presents the same data in graphic form, showing the proportion of money received in each category. Money sent by the husband (as household head) has been shaded to indicate its unique importance.

Seasonal Variations

Table 6 gives details of income sources and percent contributed by each source for each of the four months separately. Figure 6 gives the same information in visual form, indicating the relative size of the total income for each month.

The most striking difference between the months is that the reported income for October is higher than that of any month. It is nearly twice as high as that for January. The main reason for this is that October is the ploughing season when extra amounts of money are sent home by migrants to cover agricultural inputs, even though income needed to cover ongoing subsistence costs remains relatively constant. January income is less than average because most migrants bring home clothing, gifts and cash for Christmas and then often send nothing for several months thereafter. July cash flows may also be low because food from the fields is available at harvest season.

Income Sources

Husbands' Earnings or Remittances. From the above data, it is clear that money which the husband as household head contributes is the most important source of household, accounting for 56.8% of the average reported cash inflow. It must be remembered, however, that one third of the households in our sample are headed by widowed, separated or divorced women, as are about a third of all village households. Such households, by definition, do not have any income from this source. Furthermore, the fact that there is a wage-earning male household head does not guarantee that his family will receive regular or adequate support.

Table 5

HOUSEHOLD CASH INCOME PER MONTH FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE
AVERAGED OVER ALL FOUR REPORTED MONTHS

Sources of income	Average amount	Range*	Percent of total
Husband (household head)	M41.96	(0 - M600)	56.8%
Children	11.99	(0 - 160)	16.2
Other relatives and friends	6.07	(0 - 100)	8.2
Earnings of wife or female head from brewing beer	5.35	(0 - 62.05)	7.2
Wages and other activities	2.13	(0 - 29.30)	2.9
Agriculture	5.48	(0 - 222)	7.4
Other sources	.87	(0 - 37)	1.2
Total	M73.85	(0 - M608.50)	99.9%**

* Range here meaning the minimum and the maximum amounts reported by any household in any single month.

** Rounding error

Figure 5: HOUSEHOLD CASH INCOME PER MONTH FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE
AVERAGED OVER ALL FOUR REPORTED MONTHS.

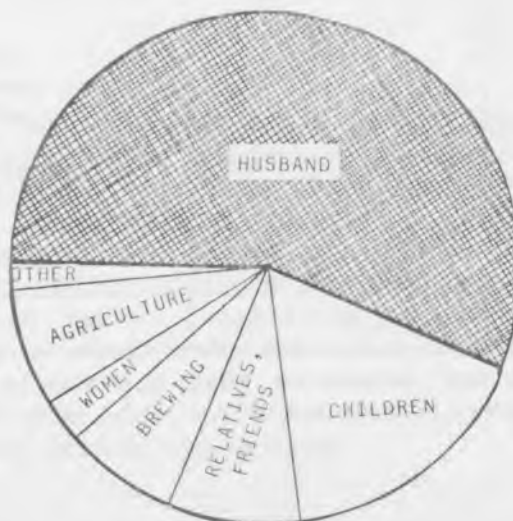
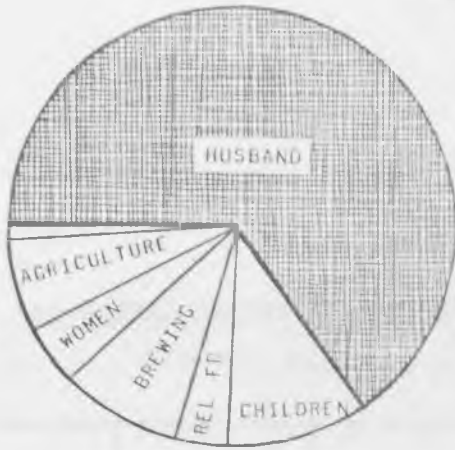


Table 6

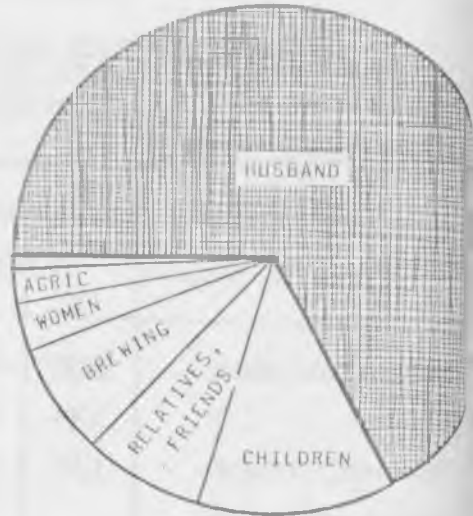
HOUSEHOLD CASH INCOME PER MONTH
AVERAGES FOR EACH REPORTED MONTH FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE

Source of income	January		April		July		October	
	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	%
Husband (hld head)	35.53	65.6	50.38	67.6	35.86	57.3	46.08	44.2
Children	5.59	10.3	9.12	12.2	10.05	16.1	23.20	22.3
Relatives, friends	1.92	3.5	5.65	7.6	6.60	10.5	10.10	9.7
Wife or female head from brewing	4.69	8.7	4.94	6.6	6.08	9.7	5.70	5.5
Wages and other activities	2.32	4.3	1.48	2.0	1.77	2.8	2.95	2.8
Agriculture	3.73	6.9	2.26	3.0	1.93	3.1	14.00	13.4
Other sources	.36	.7	.69	.9	.27	.4	2.17	2.1
Total	54.14	100.0	74.52	99.9*	62.56	99.9*	104.20	100.0

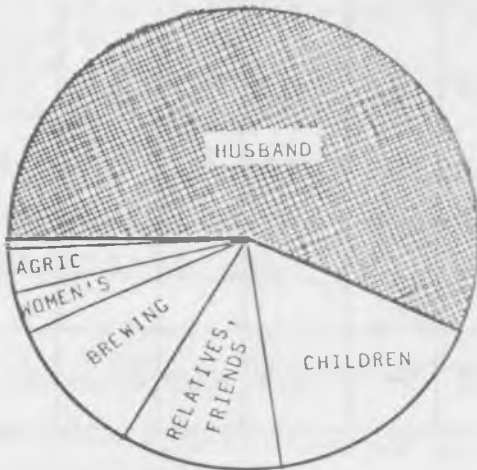
* Rounding errors



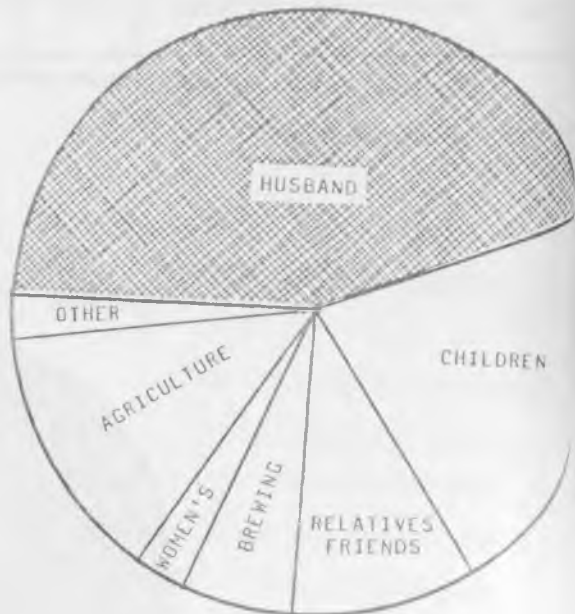
January - M54.14



April - M74.52



July - M62.56



October - M104.20

Figure 6: HOUSEHOLD INCOME PER MONTH, AVERAGES FOR EACH REPORTED MONTH FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE

The money reported as contributions from husbands comes from four different sources: pensions, wages earned in Lesotho, earnings in the local informal sector, and wages earned by migrants in South Africa.

Pensions. One former school teacher in the sample received a pension of M25.00 a month. One man who had been employed by Lesotho's Department of Public Works received M20.23 per month. At the start of 1977, a third man received a pension from a savings fund to which he had contributed while in the mines, but by the middle of the year the accumulated funds were gone, and he received nothing more. Outside of the sample, a few other retired village men (but no women) received small pensions or sickness compensation from government, missions or mining companies for whom they had worked. Most, however, like the other retired miners in our sample, received no pensions.

Wages Earned in Lesotho. If men have employment in the village or town, the wife generally knows exactly what salary the man earns, even though she only receives a portion of it for provisioning the household. One man in the sample worked as a painter for the government, starting at M60.00 per month in January and receiving M100.00 in October. His wife, however, never reported receiving more than M66.00 in a month for household use. Another man worked as a labourer at the government's Farmer's Training Center, where he said he earned M40.00 per month, although his wife reported M30.00 a month from his wages. Other men in the village who had local employment were earning between M50.00 and M100.00 per month during 1977.

The Local Informal Sector. A number of village men were self-employed. Although the numbers involved and amounts earned are small compared to migrant earnings, the economic significance is great because all such earnings provide means whereby the wages of migrants and locally-employed men are circulated within the village economy.

One man in our sample was self-employed as an herbalist, and also earned money by carrying passengers and loads in his truck. His gross income per month, as reported by his wife, ranged from M40.00 to M277.00, although he also spent money on herbs, other medicines, and truck-operating costs which were generally not known or reported by his wife. Another man received M56.50 during October from the use of his planter, an item which we have tabulated under agricultural earnings.

Other men in the village, although not in the sample, were involved in the construction business, making bricks and cement blocks or doing carpentry, masonry, thatching, etc. Most were not able or willing to give details of their earnings, for they did not keep accounts and only worked irregularly whenever they needed money. However, one teenage boy said he earned M36.00 per month

making blocks for a local entrepreneur. A man who occasionally stretched fencing said he could earn M30.00 in a week for fencing a 40 x 40 meter plot, including digging holes and cementing corner posts. A young builder said he was earning about M65.00 for the two weeks a month in which he did contract work, while his junior partner earned M45.00. The man had previously earned about M2.50 a day in the mines, and then M5.50 a day in construction work in Maseru, but said he preferred working in the village part-time now that he was building his own home.

Migrant Work. Table 2 showed that 67.2% of all village households and 60.6% of the sample include at least one male migrant worker. Most of these are miners in the Republic of South Africa. The mine worker's basic minimum shift rate increased nearly sixfold between 1972 and 1977, so that when this study began in early 1977, the daily starting wage for an inexperienced worker was M2.50, or M65.00 a month (14). The average earnings were then M3.38 per daily shift or M87.88 per month. Men with years of experience in top-level jobs and men willing to work overtime and for bonuses might earn four or five times as much.

One significant effect of the increase in mine wages has been a growing gap in rural incomes, with households lacking migrant workers lagging far behind due to lower salaries in Lesotho, uncertainties in agriculture, and inflation. A second effect has been an increase in amount of available cash in rural areas, and hence a marked increase in the purchase of consumer goods and investment in buildings, furnishings, fencing, tools, vehicles, livestock etc. (15).

Van der Wiel gives details of a study of a study concerning the allocation of migrants' earnings. He estimates that 41% of migrant wages are used by the migrant himself, 19% spent on communal items such as livestock and buildings, 31% given to the wife or other household members, and 9% distributed outside the household (16).

We found a great range in amounts of money actually remitted by different migrant workers in the sample. This is partly because of special types of investments commonly made at different phases of household development (bridewealth, house building, livestock purchases, etc.), and at certain times in the year (such as school entrance and planting season). The irregularity is also due to the fact that some men send a single large sum only once every few months and nothing in between. Others send very little money but bring home substantial gifts at Christmas, on weekends, or at the end of each contract. The differences may also be due to marital conflicts. Some men send or bring little at all, leaving their wives in virtually the same position as female-headed households with no migrant wage earners.

In the data reported in our study, five of the thirteen wives of migrant workers reported receiving money from their husbands

in each of the months sampled, although not necessarily in every month in between. The amounts sent by these five regular remitters ranged from M20.00 to M600.00, averaging M146.00 per month. Clearly the wives of these five migrants were receiving more for their household expenses than wives of men who were working and living locally, even though the remittances represented only a portion of the migrants' total earnings. The largest sums sent were intended primarily for house construction: M600.00, M340.72 and M320.00 to three different wives. In contrast to these wives who received regular and large amounts, some wives received as little as M15.00 a month from their husbands and one received absolutely nothing during the four months sampled. One of the greatest problems which wives of migrants mention is their almost total dependence on the absent husbands' remittances, yet their uncertainty about how much they will be sent and how often remittances will come.

Contributions from Sons and Daughters. Cash gifts from children constitute the next most important source of money, amounting to 16.2% of the average reported cash income. Naturally young families of migrant workers rarely have children old enough to be employed, so it is primarily older couples and older female household heads who depend heavily upon their children.

Most of the contributions recorded in this study were made by unmarried sons who were still members of their parental households. Under Sesotho customary law, the wages of an unmarried son belong to his parents (17). In return, the parents are expected to assist the son in establishing his marriage through bride-wealth payments and in obtaining a building site and fields. Married sons continue to have responsibilities for their aging parents and younger siblings, whether they have established their own homes or not.

It is not every son who fulfills these obligations. Some migrant sons send no money home, spending most of their earnings on their own clothing, personal goods and gifts, or banking it for the future. But most make at least small cash contributions. In our sample there were 10 households containing unmarried sons or grandsons employed as migrant labourers. Eight of these sent at least occasional contributions during the four sampled months. Most contributions made by migrant sons were substantially less than those made by migrant husbands, and they were sent less regularly. The largest recorded amount was only M30.00.

Not surprisingly, those sons living in the village, eating with their parents, and working in the nearby town of Mphahle's Hoek, were the most regular contributors. The largest contributions made by unmarried sons came from an educated young man with a well-paying commercial job in the town. He was planning to marry in the near future. Thus, although he gave about a quarter of his earnings to his father, he used most of the remainder for bride-wealth and to buy furniture, a radio, and other goods which he intended for his own home once he was married. This case illustrates the difficul-

ties of defining the boundaries of the household, for his was a nascent independent household, still encapsulated within his parents' household.

Similar difficulties are encountered when there is a married son still residing with his wife and children within his parents' home, as in the case of two households in our sample. In one case, the son contributed regularly to the subsistence needs of his mother's household which included his wife and child, but he also sent several hundred unreported rands a month to his wife for the costs of building their own independent house nearby. In another case, a married son contributed nothing to his mother's household for an entire year, despite the fact that theirs was one of the poorest households in the village and the young wife was hospitalized for several months with tuberculosis. Finally, however, the son returned and brought gifts and M160.00 to assist in the expenses of this double household of his mother and his wife. In such households there is often considerable tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, each having a legitimate claim on the man's wages. This is one of the reasons why young couples are anxious to proceed rapidly to obtain a building site and establish their own independent residential units.

Some sons who have their own homes continue to send money to their parents, while other retain almost all of their earnings for their own family use. One household received an average of M50.00 per month from a married son living elsewhere in the village; informal interviews with the son's wife revealed that she resented these payments and felt that her husband was neglecting her needs in favour of those of his parents and younger siblings.

There were ten cases of daughters, and ten of sons who contributed to their parents whether or not they lived with them. The amounts received from sons, however, were considerably higher than those from daughters, reflecting the higher salaries and greater employment opportunities of men and greater autonomy in allocation of funds. Most of the daughters who contribute to their mothers' households are young, unmarried, deserted or divorced women with children of their own. In such cases, the daughter may leave her children with her mother and go to South Africa, Maseru or other parts of Lesotho to find wage employment in order to support herself and the children. Married daughters with homes of their own are less able to assist their parents for they do not have independent incomes and cannot freely use their husbands' remittances for their own parents' needs. However, the marriage of daughters does bring bridewealth into the household, a source of income which did not happen to appear in any of the sample households during the months studied. One of the sample households received M340.00 as a cash bridewealth payment during February. This provided the capital for adding a kitchen to the widowed mother's home, although the constructions costs, like the bridewealth payments, were not made during the months reported.

There is an interesting seasonal variation in contributions from children. Far more contributions are recorded from children during October, the usual month for ploughing, than the other months sampled. This probably reflects the special concern children take to assist their parents in cultivating the family fields. By assisting in this monetary way, (if not with the actual labour), they contribute to the parents' subsistence needs and also show their interest in the family fields which may place them in a favoured position when the fields are reallocated as the parents become ill or die. This seasonal variation also suggests that most parents cannot depend on regular support from their children, but can appeal to them for special urgent needs such as ploughing, medical and funeral expenses, and school fees for younger siblings.

Contributions from Other Relatives and Friends. Small and irregular gifts of money are often made by relatives who are not themselves members of a given household. Wives who are in particular financial distress turn to their own relatives for help, particularly if relations with their husbands and in-laws are strained. A young woman's parents, her older sister, her own brothers on her mother's brother take an ongoing interest in her welfare and may help if she is in difficulty, or may simply make small unexpected gifts of money or food or clothing. Similarly, relatives on the husband's side may bring small amounts of money or gifts for the family and take increasing responsibility for elderly relatives. Although the traditional leviratic marriage of a widow by her husband's brother (kenelo) is now a thing of the past, husbands' brothers and their children often continue to give financial support as well as exerting some degree of control over a widow's assets.

In our study, the most regular recipient of such gifts and the one receiving the largest sums was a young woman recently widowed, who received M110.00 one month and M100.00 another month from her parents, and M54.00 one month from her late husband's brother. Reported gifts from relatives in other households ranged from M61.00 to 10 cents, although most were small amounts under M10.00.

Unrelated friends constitute another important source of cash gifts which has been included under this heading. This source is particularly important for households without husbands. Although female household heads lack a husband's income, they are also free from the social control a husband normally exerts over his wife's social relations. Thus gifts may come from men who have clandestine or open sexual affairs with women. Details of such personal transactions are difficult to obtain, but participant observation and informal interviews suggest that many women living alone, whether widowed, divorced, deserted or sometimes simply in the husband's absence, receive financial assistance from male friends. It is probable that a number of such gifts were deliberately not reported.

Gifts, may, of course, also be made by female friends. Also included in this category are several small amounts of money borrowed from friends.

In the sample, gifts and loans from unnamed friends made up a third of this category of income, while gifts from relatives amounted to two-thirds. Together they amount to 8.2% of the average monthly income.

Women's Earnings and Income-Generating Activities. Many village women, particularly those who lack adequate remittances from husbands or children, seek ways in which they themselves can obtain the cash flows which they need to supplement their small agricultural yields. As shown in Table 5, female-generated income comprised 10.1% of the average total cash income of the 33 households in the sample. Not surprisingly, such income is much more important in female-headed households than in male-headed ones. Because of the unique importance of the sale of home-brewed beer in the village economy, and hence in the redistribution of migrant earnings, we have separated brewing-related activities from all other sources of female-generated income. We will first consider wage employment, then other types of women's income-generating activities, and finally, brewing. Agricultural activities, including gardening, will be discussed in the next section.

Female Wage Employment. Women's opportunities for paid employment are very limited in rural Lesotho. Many husbands and parents-in-law disapprove of wives leaving their homes and fields to enter the labour market, although unmarried girls and women without husbands are not under the same constraints. There are actually more women than men with jobs in Lesotho, but many are part-time jobs and most are at very low wages. Only a few women work in the Republic of South Africa (See Table 4) (18). Among these working women, we observe two different types of circumstances which lead them into regular employment.

Some are women with above average levels of education (generally above standard seven) and sometimes additional specialized training. Only these women have the opportunity to get interesting skilled jobs with pay comparable to that earned by locally-employed men. Among women in the village as a whole, there are three teachers, a hospital ward assistant, three shop clerks, a book-keeper, a government office clerk, a policewoman and the chief-tainess herself, all working in the village or in Mphahle's Hoek. There are also two teachers, three shop clerks, two weavers, a nurse and perhaps others working elsewhere in Lesotho. Several of the women working in or near the village are married to migrants who send money regularly, but who also approve of the wives using their training and skills to supplement the family income, as long as they continue to live at home. Most of these women, are in some kind of marital and financial difficulty: widowed, divorced,

unmarried with children to support, or married to an ailing or irresponsible husband. For these women, work is essential to provide the basic support for the entire household.

The second group are women with average or below average education, who find that they also must provide or at least supplement the other sources of household income. Only a small percent of village women in such need are able to find employment. Those who do must usually work long hours for low pay, doing laundry, cleaning and child-minding for more prosperous households, or cleaning in shops and offices. Like the more educated workers, a few of these are married women supplementing husbands' earnings, but most are young girls with pre-marital children or elderly women without husbands or children to help. Several earn less than M10.00 per month plus meals as live-in domestic workers, while the best-paid earns M20.00 a month working for a South African family in Mohale's Hoek. The few who left the village to find domestic work in Maseru or South Africa reported higher salaries, but none earned more than M60.00 a month -- less than even the lowest-paid male migrants.

In the sample, there were five women who reported income from wage employment. One worked two days a week cleaning in a bank for which she received M16.00 per month. Another was an old woman who had worked sweeping the local court for many years. In 1977 the work was actually done by her daughter, with whom she shared the payment of M18.00 a month. There was an unmarried girl earning M12.00 a month working daily in a local butcher shop. Finally, there were two wives with part-time laundry work providing M10.00 for several of the sampled months.

Most women with paid jobs said they worked because they needed money, but informal interviews reveal other perceived benefits. Foremost is the fact that they thus obtain a regular, dependable source of money, no matter how small, in contrast to the uncertainty of timing and amounts of remittances from husbands, children and other relatives or friends. They say this relieves them of anxiety about certain regular household expenditures, or allows them to make a few extra purchases if remittances do arrive. A second factor is that they can usually retain control over money which they themselves earn, even though if they are married their earnings legally are subject to their husbands' administration. Thirdly, women say they enjoy the chance to get out of the confines of home and village, to leave children in the care of a relative, to forget domestic worries and conflicts, and to spend the day in another environment. This is particularly true for women who work in Mohale's Hoek where they can shop, meet a variety of people, and establish contacts which may help them earn additional income, benefit from government projects, or make useful employment and school contacts for friends and relatives.

Domestic and Agricultural Piece-jobs. Some women who either cannot find employment, or who cannot leave their families to take full-time work, still earn a little money by doing occasional jobs within the village, selling their domestic or agricultural labour to others. Domestic tasks like doing laundry, smearing floors or grinding grain for which women may earn more or less a rand a day are usually called "piece-jobs". Three women in the sample reported occasional income from smearing or laundry work.

Women also do agricultural tasks for others, either on a cash basis or for a specified amount of grain at harvest time. In 1976/77, women in 67 out of 227 households said that they had hoed on the fields of others; 31 worked to earn food (meaning a share in the grain), 24 worked for cash payments, and 12 did not specify the payments. Cash payments were usually 50 to 60 cents for a long half-day's labour or M1.00 to M1.50 a day in government-sponsored projects. Payments in kind were typically a bag of grain for the two or three weeks required to hoe a field. Many women assist friends, relatives and neighbours at harvest time, but payments for this work are almost always in kind rather than cash -- usually a basin of sorghum or wheat for a day harvesting or winnowing. Such agricultural work paid in kind, as well as share-cropping arrangements, are particularly important as a means of providing small amounts of grain to households without fields or lacking the capital to cultivate those they do have.

In many rural communities in Lesotho, women are able to earn small amounts of supplementary income through government-sponsored food-for-work projects. In Mohale's Hoek and other nearby villages, there were opportunities for women to earn food and occasionally small cash payments by planting trees for the Woodlot Project and by road construction work. The only government-sponsored project during 1977 which offered employment to the village women in our study was a Ministry of Agriculture sharecropping project for growing sunflowers and fodder crops. 15 women responded with enthusiasm to the opportunity to earn M1.00 a day hoeing in these fields and later to earn M1.50 per day, sorting and winnowing the sunflower seed. This pay, the newly-introduced government minimum wage, was more than any of them had ever earned a day, and more than most women could earn in regular wage employment. Their eagerness for this work indicated the need village women feel for wage employment which does not take them far from their homes, and shows their ability to adjust their own agricultural schedules and domestic responsibilities to accept employment whenever the opportunity is available.

Sale of Firewood, Thatching Grass and Reeds. Most village households meet a portion of their fuel needs by gathering dung weeds, crop residues, and brush. A few also cut reeds and thatching grass for building. In addition to such domestic use, some of these goods are sold within the village. This source amounts to less than 1% of the average total reported monthly income, yet plays an important role in the economic activities

of the poorest households -- the group least adequately sampled in our study. Thus our data do not reflect the importance of these sales within the village as a whole. Such sales from gathered items are particularly important as a means of redistribution of migrant earnings. They provide an opportunity for the poorest of the village women to invest their time and labour to gather free communal goods, and in turn to sell them to women receiving adequate cash flows but who lack either the time or the incentive to gather fuel and building materials for themselves.

There were six households in the sample which reported sales of grass, reeds and firewood. In the case of one widow with a large household receiving only irregular remittances from two migrant sons, an average of M4.78 per month or 9% of her average monthly income was derived from this source. In the other five households, such sales contributed between 1% and 5% of the income. There were, however, perhaps twenty other women in the village, and a number in the more isolated communities in the mountains above the village, who brought bundles of firewood to sell several times a week. There were generally elderly women without husbands -- women with little other cash income and for whom the labour of gathering fuel was work they had done for most of their lives. In contrast, the customers tend to be young wives of migrant workers, whose husbands' wages allow them to purchase paraffin or firewood and devote their labour to child care, house-building, and other activities characteristic of early phases in the family development. Or they may be mature women who sell beer regularly, and purchase the quick-burning firewood used for brewing. In the first case, the redistribution of migrant earnings occurs directly by the exchange of money for fuel. In the second case it is indirect; money passes from migrants home on leave, to the women who sell beer, and from them to the women who sell fuel.

Sale of Handmade and Imported Goods. Five women in the sample reported earning a little from sewing, knitting, crocheting, or weaving grass beer strainers. For no one did this constitute more than 4% of the average monthly income. All of these women were receiving regular financial support from migrant husbands or sons, so none were in unusual financial difficulty. Three even owned their own sewing machines. They appeared to knit and crochet more as a hobby and a favour to friends, than as a serious business essential to their livelihood. Elsewhere in the village, 16 households owned sewing machines and two even owned knitting machines, although these were rarely used. A few other women knitted or crocheted for sale. Those who sewed made only the simplest garments and the traditional cotton 'seshoes' skirts. I suspect that the availability of cheap mass-produced imported clothing from South Africa devalues such handcrafted garments. The contrast with the amount of brightly-coloured hand-sewn clothing elsewhere in Africa is striking.

There are a few villagers who purchase consumer goods in the Republic of South Africa and bring them home for resale, appealing to a local market for imported utensils and luxury goods. For example, one woman in the sample and several others in the village are given or purchase cloth, perfume and other cosmetics from migrant worker friends, which they then resell within the village. Several others buy large framed religious pictures from the Republic for local resale. One woman goes to Bloemfontein several times a year to buy cups, spoons and other utensils which she then peddles from house to house. She said her husband had come home crippled from the mines and her peddling provides the main source of cash income for the family. Children occasionally sell apples and oranges around the village, although imported fruits are usually only obtainable in the cafes or in the nearby town of Mophale's Hoek.

Sale of Cooked Food. Three households in our sample earned one or two maloti on occasions when they prepared and sold fat-cakes or fried fish to crowds at local football matches. Other village women occasionally purchase sheep heads from the man who butchers locally, in order to prepare cooked food to sell along with home-brewed beer. There are also several village groups, mostly church prayer-groups, which work together to raise money for their church dues by selling cooked food and beer. A few village women sell homemade bread; most people who buy bread, however, do so from the local cafes which receive regular deliveries from South African bakeries across the border. Thus income which might be earned by local baking, like that from local sewing and hand-made utensils, goes instead to commercial South African businesses.

Sale of Beer and Other Alcoholic Beverages. The amounts of money earned by village women from this source are so important that we have listed them separately in Tables 5-7 and Figures 5-7. It can be seen that this source provides more than twice as much income as all other forms of female earnings and income-generating activities combined. Furthermore, the amount of money circulated within the village is considerable, perhaps only exceeded by that circulated in connection with local construction activities. In a study of village brewing, we discovered that an average of about M1074.80 is spent in the village on traditional home-brewed beer (joala) per month, or M3.63 per household.

Perhaps even more money is spent on imported beer, brandy and other spirits, but we had no way to measure the amounts since most wives did not record such expenditures, and most purchases were made in Mophale's Hoek, not in the village. However, one household in the sample reported receiving M16.00 one weekend by selling canned beer at a football game, although she failed to report the approximately M10.00 which she must have spent to purchase it. A few other village households regularly sell imported drinks, making

considerable profit on each loti spent. One villager, for example, was a childless young woman who had been rejected by husband and in-laws. After working for several years as a domestic servant in Maseru, she came back to her village home, outfitted it with tasteful modern furniture for which she had been saving, and began to live by the regular sale of imported drinks. She said her husband never sent money, so in order to survive she had established a 'hotel' business, in imitation of the social centers in Mohale's Hoek and Maseru. Imported drinks are also sometimes sold at weekend socials in the village where the principal commodity is home-brewed beer. Since most of the money spent in this way goes to the bottle stores, the government liquor commission and the South African breweries, imported drinks are not as important in the village economy as the production and sale of joala.

Over half of all households (151 out of 296) reported brewing joala for sale at least occasionally during 1977. Of these, 11 did so less than once a month, 77 did so between one and three times a month, while 63 brewed once a week or oftener. Of the 33 households in our sample, 20 reported income from the sale of joala.

In tabulating the income associated with the sale of joala, we have actually included three different items. The first is the sale of 'mela', which is sprouted sorghum. The process of soaking, sprouting and drying the grain takes about a week. Thus some women with surplus sorghum and the time for this activity provide 'mela' to other village women who wish to brew. Most brewers, however, either prepare their own 'mela' or purchase it already ground in the shops. Five of the households in the sample reported the sale of 'mela'. Although this amounts to less than 1% of the average monthly income for all 33 households, its place in the budget of the poorest households lacking migrant income is important. One deserted woman who lived with two daughters earned 13% of her average monthly income of M48.66 from the sale of 'mela'.

The second item we have included is the sale of joala itself. This is necessarily recorded as gross earnings since details of expenditures for brewing, or amounts of grain used, are not available. Some women brew only traditional sorghum beer, made from grain they themselves have grown, without the addition of any other ingredients. Of course, even in these cases a complete accounting of investment would have to include the costs of ploughing, the value of seed used, the labour of field cultivation, and the cost of grinding the grain and gathering and buying firewood. It would also include pro-rating the capital investment in large metal drums for cooking, clay pots or large buckets or drums for fermenting, metal or woven strainers, and mugs for serving customers, as well as calculating the labour costs of brewing and selling. But utensils are often borrowed or shared, most households

with fields grow at least some sorghum, and many village women can find the time for income-generating activities if they wish. Thus they generally consider the M2.00 to M8.00 which they may earn in a day of selling as pure profit if they have used their own grain.

Women who lack their own supplies of sorghum, those who prefer to retain their sorghum for porridge and other types of food, and those who wish to brew very frequently or rapidly, can purchase all the necessary ingredients in the local shops and cafes. The following estimates of expenditures, exclusive of fuel and labour, were given by one woman for the two most common types of beer made with commercial ingredients.

'Joala ba Sesotho' - Sorghum Beer

(60 litres - estimated sale value of M9.00)

M .80	Flour (wheat and sorghum)
1.20	Ground ' <u>mela</u> ' (trade name: King Korn)
.20	Yeast
.29	Brown Sugar
<hr/>	
2.49	Total Expenditure
6.51	Estimated Profit

'Hopos' or 'Pine' - Hops or Pineapple Based Beer

(20 litres - estimated sale value of M4.50)

M .30	Wheat Flour
.15	Ground ' <u>mela</u> ' (trade name: King Korn)
.20	Ground hops (or .35 for a pineapple)
.20	Yeast
.58	Sugar
<hr/>	
M1.43	Total Expenditure (or 1.58 for 'pine')
3.07	Estimated Profit (or 2.92 for 'pine')

It can be seen that even if commercial ingredients are used, the net income is between one-half and two-thirds of the total intake. Thus, when we report the amount of cash income received from the sale of joala, we must recognise its great importance to many village budgets. The same deserted woman mentioned above, who earned 13% of her average monthly income from the sale of 'mela', also earned 49% from the sale of joala itself.

A third type of item included in this section is money derived from joala-based rotating credit associations, called stokofele or timiti. Details of these groups are given in Basotho Women's Options (19). In brief, these are associations of women who brew and sell regularly on a rotating basis. Although the woman who brews on a particular day receives all the profits from her sales, she also receives a pool of money or other goods which members agree to bring to the host each time the group assembles at someone's home. There were 12 of these groups in the village during 1977, with between 4 and 12 members each. Most agreed to meet weekly and contribute between 50 lisente and M2.00 each time. In addition, some groups brought small boxes of soap powder or a litre of paraffin to the host. Written records of joala sales and group contributions were carefully kept, few members defaulted, and so by regular rotation each member could depend on a single large receipt every month or two. At the same time, membership forced her to save regularly, either from other household money or by additional brewing to raise her weekly dues. One woman recorded receipts of M16.95, M18.40, M20.50 and M21.45 on four successive timiti gatherings at her home. Since it was not possible to distinguish between receipts from beer sales and from members' contributions, both have been included in our tabulation of total income derived from the sale of joala.

Other income associated with brewing has been included in other categories. The sale of firewood was discussed above. The sale of pigs, which are commonly reared by women who brew because beer strainings are used as pig food, is mentioned in the agricultural income section.

The majority of the customers at the village beer houses, and those who spend the largest amounts of money, are men. A few young women do drink, particularly those who brew regularly. A considerable number of older women drink, some frequenting the beer houses for much of the day seeking the company, the warmth of a fire in winter and the occasional drink they can afford to buy or, more often, what they are given by friends. Most of the money which is circulated in this trade comes from migrant men who are home on leave and local men who come after working hours. Thus brewing provides one of the mechanisms whereby considerable sums of money earned outside the village are circulated within it, and whereby such money passes into the hands of women who themselves have no employment or no regular source of migrant remittances.

Earnings from Agriculture. Only a small proportion of the recorded average monthly cash income in our sample comes directly from agriculture (7.4%). Unfortunately, we did not record all agricultural and livestock sales in the village in 1977, nor all 12 months of the group sampled. Nevertheless, other studies have mentioned the small contribution which agricultural sales and produce make

to the average household income in Lesotho (20). A recent ILO report notes that some farmers may be 'reverting to an increasingly subsistence stance', marketing what surplus grain they have 'through informal village marketing channels rather than public marketing institutions' (21). Thus, any assessment of local agricultural activity should take account of such informal exchange and marketing systems, not only for grain, but for other vegetable crops and for livestock as well. Unfortunately, much of the produce devoted to subsistence use, as well as that which is exchanged, sold locally, or invested in brewing, has not been studied, quantified or reported. Our data on recorded cash income can only point to areas where further investigation is needed.

Crops and Gardens. In our income and expenditure study, the direct sale of field produce accounted for only 1.7% of the average monthly income. This included beans, wheat, sorghum, pumpkins, and occasionally maize. The most numerous and largest sales in the sample were bags of sorghum sold within the village to women who brew. Pumpkins are often ignored in studies of local agriculture, yet they provide a basic element in the diet throughout much of the year, as do green leafy vegetables. They are a source of income for those who grow them in quantity.

Garden produce is also important, not only for subsistence use, but for those households which produce a surplus for sale to their neighbours. Only .5% of the average monthly income came from gardens, but seven families in the sample, with fenced and watered gardens, earned between M1.00 and M6.00 per month by selling greens and seedlings.

Field produce is not only used for domestic consumption or for sale. It can also be given away in exchange for agricultural labour. This may be done directly when stipulated amounts of grain are given to sharecropping partners or to those who help weed or harvest. Or it may be done indirectly when a woman prepares a large quantity of food and drink for men who plough her field or for cooperative work-groups of men or women (matsema) who come to weed, thresh or perform other tasks. Furthermore, we have seen the economic importance of the process whereby grain is made into malt ('mela) or beer for sale.

Livestock and Small Animals. Income from the rearing of animals is likewise not limited to the sale of wool and mohair and to the sale of major domestic animals. In our study, there were records of a few such sales which accounted for 1.4% of the average monthly income. But in addition, .9% was derived from animals normally reared by women rather than men: pigs, ducks and chickens. There are also non-monetized livestock exchanges associated with bridewealth, ploughing arrangements made possible by exchange or loan of animals, and mafisa arrangements whereby a livestock owner places animals in the care of someone else who supplies food and care. None of these involves cash flows, but all are important in the village economic system.

Agricultural Services. More income was recorded from the provisions of agricultural services -- ploughing and planting -- than from either crops or livestock sales. This accounted for 2.8% of the average monthly income and explains the surprising fact that reported agricultural income was higher in October (ploughing season) than in July (harvest season). However, it is significant that instead of being distributed among a number of households, all of this income was concentrated in only two of the 33 households. One of these was headed by a retired man with oxen and a plough and planter. He earned M56.50 by planting for other villagers during October. The other was a mature migrant who had just purchased a second-hand tractor, after which he returned to the mines leaving its operation in the hands of a driver with his wife as manager. She recorded receiving M222.00 during October from ploughing and planting, although she recorded even more than that amount on repairs and operating costs.

These two cases, as well as detailed data on ploughing reported in Basotho Women's Options (22), point to the increasing monetization of agriculture and the profits which are obtained by those who sell agricultural services rather than selling produce. Although crop yields are small and marketable surpluses are very limited, fields continue to be cultivated, village women, boys and old men continue to devote much time and labour to farming, and migrants continue to send home money for seeds, ploughing and hauling. In a study of risk perception, Wilken has suggested that agriculture remains primarily a fallback enterprise for Basotho women, giving it 'a significance far beyond its value as an income-producing enterprise' (23). Those who were able to make substantial cash incomes from agriculture in 1977 were those few with unusually large land holding and the few entrepreneurs who invest capital in ploughing equipment, particularly tractors, in order to profit by selling their services to those who have migrant remittances to spend. Most men, in turn, are forced to spend more time in wage labour in order to earn the money to provide the ploughing which men's labour and livestock provided in the past.

Income from Other Miscellaneous Sources. The final category in our tabulation of reported sources of income includes rent, loans and savings, amounting to 1.2% of the average monthly income. Almost all village households have their own sites and buildings, but one family in our sample and two or three others in the village receive a few rands a month by renting rooms or extra buildings to temporary residents such as teachers or contractors, or to newcomers waiting to obtain their own sites. Two families in the sample also rented out large battery-operated record players, thus obtaining a few extra maloti. The remainder of income in this category was made up of money withdrawn from savings accounts or borrowed from friends or the local credit union.

Income Differences

Differentiation Between Sub-Groups. Table 7 and Figure 7 show the breakdown of sources and amounts of average monthly income for each of the three subgroups in the sample.

Both van der Wiel and the JASPA/ILO report have observed that the age and sex composition of the household is the crucial variable affecting migrant income (24). Van der Wiel found in his data that 'the majority of households in the low income group consist of widows living with little children, thereby lacking a potential wage-earner' (25). Our data support these generalizations but give additional detail concerning differentiation. It can be seen that the total income reported by group A, the wives of migrant workers, is about twice that reported by either of the other groups. We note earlier (see Table 3) that the average de jure household size of Group A for Group B and 5.6 members for Group C. Thus, the difference in total income cannot be attributed to differences in household size: in fact, calculation on a per capital basis would show an even greater inequality of cash income available for the support of each individual. The difference is obviously attributable to the fairly regular remittances sent by migrant husbands. We have noted that remittances from migrant husbands tend to be larger than wages of locally-employed men, and more regular than what is sent by migrant children. Thus, even though many households in groups B and C include migrant sons, or other employed children and locally-employed men, they do not provide substantial amounts of cash in flow. Economists estimating the remittances sent by migrant workers should bear in mind the important distinctions between husbands and children, and between local and migrant salaries.

In analysing the differences between sub-groups, the stage of household development should also be remembered. Much of the cash income received by group A households is used for major investments necessary in the early stages of homestead development, notably bridewealth, house-building, and the purchase of household equipment and livestock. In contrast, most of the households in groups B and C already have established homesteads as well as fields. Thus they do not need to invest much money in establishing assets, and they may meet a larger portion of their basic food needs from agriculture. Although some group A households do not yet have fields or cattle, they all reported planting crops in 1977, either on fields of their own or by sharecropping arrangements whereby they agreed to arrange for the ploughing of the fields of others. Such sharecropping agreements indicate that it is the young households in Group A which must have cash to invest in agriculture as in construction, whereas older households operate on a more nearly subsistence level or by assistance from the young wage earners. Even if the group B and C households do not have pressing investment needs, they continue to express anxiety about

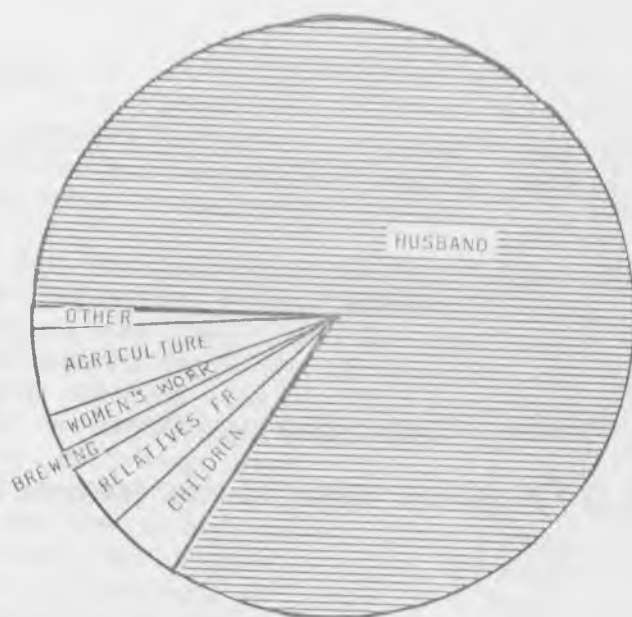
Table 7

HOUSEHOLD CASH INCOME PER MONTH
FOR EACH SUB-GROUP AVERAGED OVER ALL FOUR REPORTED MONTHS

Source of income	Group A migrant male head		Group B resident male head		Group C female head	
	M	%	M	%	M	%
Husband (household head)	89.11	83.7	25.15	46.7	-	-
Children	4.20	3.9	13.39	24.8	20.05	38.7
Other Relatives, Friends	3.94	3.7	4.16	7.7	10.16	19.6
Wife or Female Head from Brewing	1.03	1.0	2.52	4.7	11.91	23.0
Wages, other Activities	1.99	1.9	1.45	2.7	3.73	7.2
Agriculture	5.08	4.8	6.55	12.1	5.09	9.8
Other Sources	1.06	1.0	.69	1.3	.81	1.6
TOTAL	106.41	100.0	53.91	100.0	51.75	99.9*

* Rounding Error

Figure 7: HOUSEHOLD CASH INCOME PER MONTH FOR EACH SUB-GROUP, AVERAGED OVER ALL FOUR REPORTED MONTHS



Group A
Migrant male head
M106.41



Group B
Resident male head
M53.91



Group C
Female head
M51.75

where they can get the money they find essential to buy commodities which they cannot produce, to educate their children, and to survive through illness and old age.

It can be seen that the total amounts of money received from husbands are highest for Group A (M93.31), less for Group B (M38.39), and lowest for Group C (M20.05). It can also be seen that income derived from the wife or female household head's wages and income-generating activities is inversely correlated with remittances and gifts from husbands and children. The correlation coefficient is $-.21$, which is significant at the $.05$ level. In particular, we note that brewing contributes almost nothing to Group A households, whereas it accounts for almost a quarter of the reported monthly income for Group C households.

Income from agricultural sources is highest for Group B households; these are the households with resident husbands, most of whom are actively engaged in cultivation and livestock care whether or not they also have local employment. For this group, agriculture provided 8.8% of the total average monthly income, whereas it provided only 4.2% for Group A, and a surprisingly low 1.6% for Group C. The low figure for Group C is surprising because their reported average yield of grain and legumes in 1976 was the highest of the three groups: 5.5 bags (of 90 kg each) in contrast to 3.8 bags for Group A and 1.8 bags for Group B. (Data on yields for 1977 is unfortunately unavailable.) The discrepancy may be due to several factors, apart from the obvious one that yield data were collected for 1976, and income data for 1977. First, a considerable amount of the average cash income from agriculture reported by Groups A and B was actually derived from ploughing and planting fees received by men, whereas the female-headed households had no such earning opportunity. Secondly, Group B income was high in 1977 because of livestock sales reported by two households — again an activity more typical of male-headed households. Thirdly, although the female-headed households of Group C produced more from their fields than the other two groups, they sold little directly. They used most of their field produce to feed their families or to invest in brewing in order to buy a few imported foods like tea, sugar and salt, and consumer goods like soap, paraffin and clothing.

Differentiation Within Sub-Groups. Just as there are differences between groups, there are differences within groups which the case-study approach reveals. This provides a check on over-simple generalizations, although it makes the analytical task more difficult.

One Group A wife with a migrant husband and two children, for example, reported an average monthly income of M248.40, which is more than double the average for the group. Most of this money

came directly from her husband's remittances. In contrast, another wife with two children reported receiving only M8.39 per month. Most of this came from her own brother and from the sale of garden produce -- none was received from her husband during the months sampled. It cannot be said that her needs were objectively less than those of the first household, but only that the limited cash income prevented further homestead development, consumer spending, and the eating of fruit, milk, meat, fish and many other foods. She was forced, like many of the female household heads in Group C, to turn to her relatives and to income-generating activities of her own for essential cash needs, and to keep her spending to the barest minimum. Another migrant's wife reported an average of M38.89 per month for the sampled months. The small amount she received from her husband was supplemented by the sale of beer, firewood, and gifts from her brother and a male friend -- again showing the pattern of alternate income sources more commonly resorted to by women husbands.

There are even greater differences between households in Group B, because there is a greater age range, only some of the resident husbands are employed, and only some households include employed children. One of the families reporting a higher than average income for Group B (M73.07) was that of a recently retired migrant on pension, who had the health and vigour to engage in profitable agricultural activity while also receiving assistance from the two employed sons. The lowest income in this group was reported by a young man who had been a migrant but spent the entire year of 1977 just drifting about town, neither employed nor farming. The wife reported an average of only M15.25 per month as available cash income and comparable low levels of expenditure. She said her husband just drank and gave money he had saved to other women. Like women of Group C without husbands, she depended heavily on field produce, the sale of beer, and money given by a relative -- her sister, who is a domestic worker in Johannesburg.

Great differences were also found within Group C. One of these households with a higher than average income (M89.63) was that of a young recently widowed woman. She continued to manage the large fields, livestock and other assets her husband had left, as well as receiving money from her parents. Another case is that of a widow living with a married migrant son and his wife and child, an unmarried migrant son, a divorced daughter with child, and two older school children. There were thus three sources of money from wage employment as well as enough labour to cultivate the fields and brew beer for sale several times a week. Early in 1978 this household divided. The married son moved his family into his own independent homestead, thus becoming a typical Group A household while the widow's remaining family became more like the Group C average. After domestic fission, she received much less in cash remittances, and came to depend more and more upon field produce and brewing.

At the bottom end of the scale in Group C was a widow with two small grandchildren, who reported an average of only M4.55 cash income in the sampled months. She had recently returned from years as a domestic worker in South Africa. She appeared to have no accumulated assets, no fields, no livestock, no regular source of income -- nothing but a tiny unfurnished hut she had just built. She was not well enough to work, and subsisted on small gifts from a married daughter and occasional amounts earned by brewing or helping others at harvest time. Such households as hers constitute the poorest of the village, the group which we have shown to be least adequately represented in our sample. Despite their absence from the sample, their importance within the village wealth distribution pattern is indicated by the graphs in Figures 1 through 4.

6. DATA ON HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

Having considered the sources of cash flows into village households, we will now examine the patterns of cash expenditures.

Average Expenditure for all Four Months

Table 8 and Figure 8 present the data on record expenditures for all 33 households, averaged over the four sampled months. The detailed itemized accounts have been broken down into ten categories. The items showing the greatest variation between months and between groups have been shaded to distinguish them from categories showing more consistency.

Seasonal Variations

Table 9 and Figure 9 present expenditure for these 33 households divided by month in order to show seasonal variations. As with income data, so the expenditure data show a much higher level of total monetary flow during October than any of the other months. This is probably related, as already noted, to the extra money sent home by migrants for agricultural investments during the October ploughing season.

Apart from agriculture, there are only a few significant variations in amounts of money spent from month to month, although the picture given in Figure 9 shows fluctuation in the proportion devoted to each item due to the larger total expenditure in October. Actual amounts of money spent on food, medical items and toiletries, cleansing materials and fuel change little from month to month.

We note that educational expenditure is highest in January, the beginning of the school year. Clothing expenditures are lowest in January just after Christmas gifts have been received, and highest in the cold month of July. That they are still high in October is puzzling, for the weather is warmer; perhaps some of the extra money sent for ploughing is actually used for clothing instead. The combined total spent on household equipment is unusually large in October, but this is primarily attributable to a single large furniture purchase by one household -- an unavoidable problem when averaging with such a small sample. House construction costs likewise appear high in July when two families made major building investments; household equipment costs were unusually low during the same month because no household in the sample made any major purchase.

Types of Expenditures

In this section the kinds of expenditures actually made in each category are considered.

Table 8

HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES PER MONTH FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE
AVERAGED OVER ALL FOUR REPORTED MONTHS

Type of expenditure	Average amount M	Range* M	Percent of total %
Food and drink	24.61	(1.09 - 138.59)	30.4
Medical, toiletries	2.69	(0 - 25.60)	3.3
Cleansing materials	1.95	(0 - 8.12)	2.4
Fuel	4.34	(0 - 15.09)	5.4
Clothing	13.70	(0 - 97.50)	16.9
Education, stationery	3.47	(0 - 77.00)	4.3
House building	8.95	(0 - 204.00)	11.1
Household equipment	8.15	(0 - 306.36)	10.1
Agriculture	6.87	(0 - 313.12)	8.5
Other	6.25	(0 - 45.00)	7.7
TOTAL	80.98	(2.33 - 424.11)	100.1**

* Range here means minimum and maximum reported by any household in any month.

** Rounding error

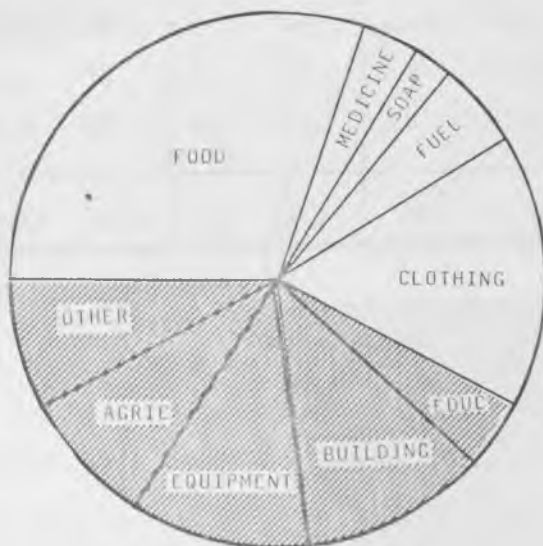


Figure 8: HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES PER MONTH FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE, AVERAGED OVER ALL FOUR REPORTED MONTHS.

Table 9

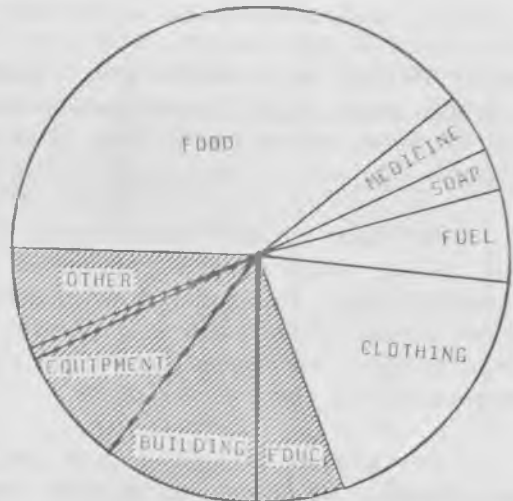
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES
AVERAGES FOR EACH REPORTED MONTH FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE

Type of Expenditure	January		April		July		October	
	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	%
Food and drink	20.25	32.4	29.46	38.8	22.30	32.8	26.46	22.5
Medical, toiletries	2.24	3.6	2.91	3.8	2.06	3.0	3.53	3.0
Cleansing materials	1.67	2.7	1.92	2.5	2.07	3.0	2.14	1.8
Fuel	3.29	5.3	4.78	6.3	4.23	6.2	5.07	4.3
Clothing	10.83	17.3	13.23	17.4	15.61	22.0	15.13	12.9
Education	7.25	11.6	4.27	5.6	1.11	1.6	1.24	1.1
House	6.46	10.3	7.84	10.3	12.83	18.9	8.67	7.4
Household equipment	6.98	11.2	5.02	7.9	1.73	2.5	17.87	15.2
Agriculture	1.00	1.6	.45	.6	.57	.8	25.45	21.7
Other	2.58	4.1	5.01	6.6	5.53	8.1	11.87	10.1
TOTAL	62.55	100*	75.89	100*	68.04	100*	117.43	100

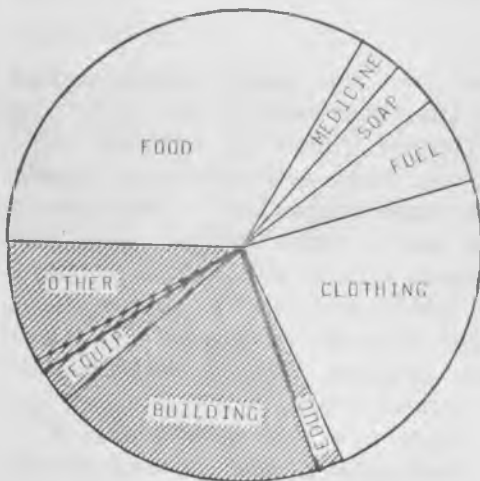
* rounding error



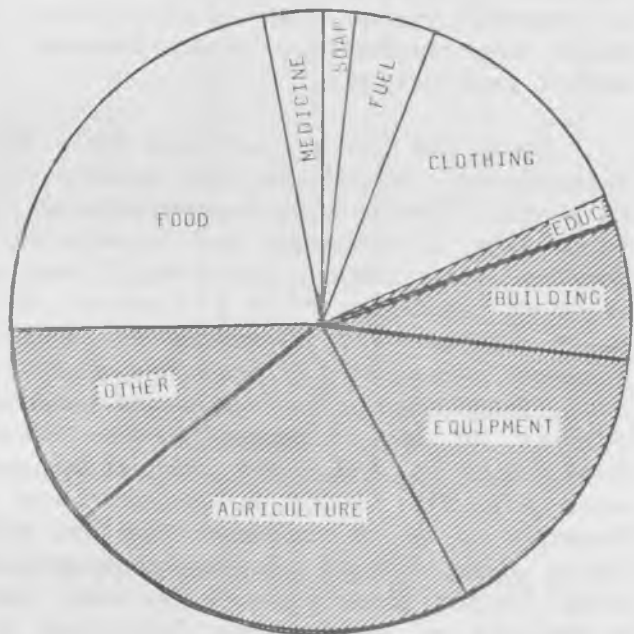
January - M62.55



April - M75.89



July - M68.04



October - M117.43

Figure 9: HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES, AVERAGES FOR EACH REPORTED MONTH FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE

Food and Drink. In addition to including all purchases of foodstuffs, this category includes small amounts spent on tobacco and alcoholic beverages. Since most of these purchases are made by men, not women, they were usually not known by the woman who was keeping household records. Thus reported money spent for tobacco and alcoholic beverages amounts to only an average of 80 lisente per month. If the total actually spent, particularly on drinking, were known and reported, we suspect it would constitute a much more significant proportion of total household expenditure -- in some cases even more than the amount the wife spends on food itself.

We have also unavoidably included some sugar, flour, yeast and other ingredients purchased for brewing rather than for family consumption, because many households did not distinguish these from other foodstuffs. Where brewing investments were itemized separately, we have included them along with other miscellaneous expenditures (see p. 64).

In order to give an indication of the major food items purchased, we have tabulated details for the months of July and October (Table 10) (26). An examination of these data shows that the major expenditures are for maize meal, meat and chickens, wheat flour, sugar, milk (including powdered baby formula), vegetables (primarily imported cabbage), fats and oils, and coffee, tea and cocoa. The high proportion spent on these items indicates a heavy dependence on imported foodstuffs. In 1977, all of the maize meal and flour, like most other commodities listed in Table 10, were imported from South Africa. Even the amounts listed for fruit, vegetables, meat, chicken, milk and bread were spent primarily on imported rather than local produce. Eggs are the only foodstuffs which are necessarily local because they alone are protected by import restrictions.

Food and drink accounts for 30.4% of the average monthly expenditure, or M24.61 per month, with little change from month to month. The average household size for the sample was 5.7 members, (excluding .7 migrants per household). Thus the average reported monthly food expenditure which was recorded was only M4.92 per resident member, or 16.4 lisente per day. In 1977, a baseline balanced diet for an adult in Lesotho was estimated to cost 25 lisente a day (27). Some households in our sample were spending much less than this estimated amount, and less than the group average of 16.4 lisente, either because they met most of their food needs by their own production and gathering, or because they were actually living below the level of basic nutritional needs. Several cases of malnutrition and pellagra (lefu la poone) were known among the 33 households sampled. Other households, however, with larger than average incomes, were able to devote funds to a variety of convenience foods and non-nutritional items such as candies, soft-drinks, potato crisps etc.

Table 10

ITEMIZED EXPENDITURES FOR FOODSTUFFS BY MONTH,
AVERAGE FOR ALL 33 HOUSEHOLDS

Item	July	October
Maize meal	M4.89	M6.63
Meat and chicken	2.09	3.36*
Wheat flour	2.41	2.48
Sugar	2.32	2.33
Milk	1.55	1.56
Vegetables	1.94	1.34
Fat, oil, margarine	.85	1.06
Tea, coffee, cocoa	.84	.81
Bread	.48	.79
Potatoes, rice, stamp	.81	.68
Fruit	.60	.59
Fish	.32	.48
Salt, spices	.30	.45
Biscuits, candies	.26	.39
Peanut butter, jam, custard	.10	.22
Peas, beans	.22	.21
Eggs	.29	.11
Soft drinks	.10	.19
Beer	.40	.43
Tobacco	.34	.42
Other unitemized groceries	.90	1.95
TOTAL	M22.01	M26.48

* This includes an expenditure of M30.00 by one household for a sheep, used for a family ritual feast.

Medical Care and Toiletries. This category includes hospital and clinic expenses, private doctor fees, patent medicines, and toilet goods usually bought at the chemist, such as toothpaste, baby oil, vaseline, deodorant and cosmetics. The category accounts for 3.3% of the average expenditure, about half consisting of actual medical expenses and the other half of toiletries. Some households spent nothing on medical items; a few spent surprisingly large amounts to see a private doctor (M5.00 per visit for an adult), in preference to attending the government clinic charging 60 lisente a visit. A few also spent large amounts on cosmetics such as face-lightening creams and hair treatments; other households reported nothing but Vaseline for skin care.

Cleansing Materials. Cleansing materials, particularly laundry soap, are an important regular item in a rural woman's budgeting, accounting for 2.4% of the average monthly expenditure. Women often discuss the relative merits and prices of different brands of soap which are advertised on posters and over the radio. Many migrants bring home soap among their gifts when they come on leave, while village women who make brewing associations often pool soap packets as well as paraffin and cash.

Fuel. Fuel for cooking and heating, as well as candles and matches, are needed by all households in the sample. This item accounts for 5.4% of the average monthly expenditure. A few of the poorest households in the sample, and those in the large unsampled group of less literate elderly women, meet most of their fuel needs by gathering rather than buying fuel. Others with regular cash incomes do almost all of their cooking with paraffin which is the major item under this heading.

Because of government and donor agency interest in Lesotho's fuel needs and alternative energy sources, we decided to itemize the data on cash expenditures for fuel and related items, averaged for all four months (See Table 11). No attempt has been made to monetize or account for the amounts of dung, brush, weeds and crop residues used for fuel. Clearly paraffin is the major item bought by those who can afford it. It is available from several village cafes and from Mohale's Hoek and is fairly easy to transport and use. Coal, on the other hand, is rarely used in the village because of its weight and bulk and because few households own coal burning stoves. Its primary use in the village is for firing locally-made mud bricks; it is occasionally burned, like cow dung, in metal braziers.

Clothing. Clothing, together with shoes and blankets, accounts for 16.9% of the average monthly outflow of cash ranging from an average of M10.83 in January to M15.61 in July. Considerable amounts of clothing and blankets are also brought or sent home as gifts by migrant workers and by those working in other parts of Lesotho. Were it not for these gifts, the amount which would have to be budgeted for clothing, shoes and blankets would probably be considerably higher. Most of the items in this category are

TABLE 11

AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE
FOR
FUEL AND RELATED ITEMS

Paraffin	M3.39
Spirits	.04
Wood	.05
Coal	.29
Matches	.28
Candles	.29
TOTAL	<hr/> M4.34

South African manufactured goods, predominantly of synthetic fibres. Very few are locally-sewn, knitted or crocheted products.

Education. This category includes education, postage and writing materials. 8.5% of the average monthly budget is devoted to these expenditures, almost all going to education itself: school fees, books, and miscellaneous school costs. Small amounts spent on postage, writing paper and writing implements have also been included.

Three families with teenage children reported school expenses of M19.50, M21.00 and M77.00 at the beginning of 1977. Although primary pupils paid only a loti or two a year as fees and not much for books and uniforms, pupils in secondary schools had to pay about M100.00 per year and high school pupils paid M180.00. Books, stationary, extra examination fees and uniforms cost nearly as much. Considering these costs in light of the information presented on typical monthly income and expenditure, we can see why many rural households cannot afford the expense of schooling, once their children have completed the less costly elementary school grades. 54% of the village children between the ages of five and nineteen were attending elementary school, but only 6% were attending secondary or high school during 1977, with more girls than boys at all but the highest levels. The opportunity costs are such that many households must ask their sons to herd at home or on contract to wealthier households when they are young, and encourage (or allow) them to take mine contracts as soon as they can pass for age 18. Since there are few opportunities for paid female employment, and domestic tasks can usually be shared and schedules adjusted, most girls continue in school until lack of money, pregnancy, or marriage force them to stop.

House Construction. Construction costs are a major expenditure at certain stages of the household developmental cycle, amounting to 11.1% of the average monthly budget. Rental accommodation is rare in rural Lesotho, although it is common in peri-urban areas.

There is usually an initial period of intensive building when a young family first establishes its own home. They may erect a substantial stone, brick or cement building immediately: if they have the money. Or they may build a tiny hut of mud and sticks which allows them to occupy their newly-allocated site. Thereafter they will build a larger well-furnished house next door, using the first for cooking and other activities of women and children, and reserving the second for sleeping or entertaining. In some cases ill health, unemployment, marital problems or death may prevent homestead improvement activities altogether. In other cases, years pass before a family can proceed with such improvements as fencing, installing a water pipe, adding rooms, building a kraal for livestock, etc.

The total amounts spent by two families who built homes in 1977 are given below in order to indicate the types of expenditures included in this category. Only the second case comes from the sample group and only a few of building expenses were included in the months sampled.

Reported Cost of Building a Small, One Room House, With Mud and Stick Walls and Corrugated-metal Roof (about 3 metres by 4 metres)

M80.00	metal roofing sheets (26 pieces)
36.00	timbers for frame and roofing
6.00	windows and frames (2 at M3.00 each)
9.50	door and door-frame
1.75	nails
5.00	saw
6.00	labour for erecting frame of timbers and sticks.
6.00	labour for stonework at base of walls
5.00	labour to install door and windows
24.00	labour for roofing
<u>M179.25</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>

Plus unpaid labour: The site was prepared by the wife with the aid of a one-day work group of men, paid for with food and beer which the wife cooked. She herself spent much of her time for three months clearing and leveling the site, gathering rocks, cutting and hauling sticks, buying supplies, plastering the walls and floors, and supervising workmen.

Only four households in the sample were actually building houses during 1977, but almost all of the young migrants' wives in Group A and several of the locally resident men in Group B were building kraals, fencing their plots, or making other improvements.

Household Equipment. Furniture, utensils and other household equipment makes up 10.1% of the average monthly expenditure. Most households report little in this category, except for small purchases of dishes, utensils, batteries, floor polish etc. It is the occasional large expenditure on major items by a few families which accounts for most of the total spent in this category. For

Reported Costs of Building a Two-Room Cement Block House

M180.00	cement blocks (600)
28.00	transport of blocks
5.20	2 cement bags
60.00	2 large windows
10.00	1 small window
28.00	door
12.00	door frame
10.60	labour to install door and windows
116.00	labour to build walls
58.00	labour for roofing
201.60	metal roofing (36 pieces @ M5.60)
40.80	boards (12 @ M3.40)
33.60	boards (8 @ M4.20)
13.00	nails
<hr/>	
M797.30	TOTAL

example, the son in one household spent M200.00 on furniture for his still unfinished home, as well as M30.00 for a wheelbarrow and M60.00 for a paraffin heater, which he gave to his parents. Another household paid M43.00 towards purchase of a sewing machine and M11.85 for a cloth to sew curtains, while another bought a mattress for M32.50. Yet another sent M10.00 for a tea set to a mail-order house in Johannesburg. This was part of an elaborate pyramid-buying scheme. Each new participant had to give M6.80 to a friend for her purchase, after which the new participant received a catalogue in the mail. If she could then find three friends to contribute to her and she could pay postal charges, she could then order some household item from the attractive, glossy pages of the catalogue. This mail-order buying scheme spread like wildfire as one after another of the young wives succumbed, until at last 36 village women had become involved. This illustrates the power of the penetration of South African merchandizing into rural as well as urban Lesotho.

The great variation which exists between individual expenditures in both household equipment and building categories points to the distinction between those households operating on a subsistence level, and those households with sufficient cash

flows to allow them to build and furnish their homes, and to make purchases giving added convenience, beauty or status. In some village homes, there are imported decorated wooden doors, comfortable living room suites, ornate dining room tables and chairs, glass and mirrored display cupboards, and large battery-operated radio-record players. Other village homes are either bare furnitureless huts built by new couples, or traditional stone and thatch rondavels of the elderly, with nothing but a few mats, animal skins, cardboard boxes and mud shelves for furniture. A proper assessment of differentials in wealth in rural Lesotho should take account of variations in buildings, furnishings, clothing and schooling, as well as the more usual and easily-measured items such as fields, livestock, tools and earned income.

Agriculture. In the average of all four months, agricultural expenses amount to only 8.5%. However, when this is subdivided by month we find that 21.7% was spent on agriculture in October or an average of M25.45 per household, in contrast to less than a loti (1.6% or less) in the other three months. As we have already noted, most of the October expenditures are associated with ploughing.

Out of the 33 households, 15 paid cash to have their fields ploughed and/or planted. Amounts spent during the month ranged from M8.20 to M58.00, averaging M27.61 for these 15 households. Other households either provided their own ploughing or obtained it by sharecropping or by exchange of labour, animals, or promise or produce. A few planted in November when costs were not recorded, and one or two, lacking both fields and money, did not plant at all.

In addition to the 15 which paid for ploughing, there was one household which had even higher agricultural expenditures. The migrant husband had recently purchased a second-hand tractor costing about M2000.00. During October, the wife recorded expenditures of M307.17 for repair and operating costs, and recorded receipts of M222.00 from those who hired the tractor to plough and plant. We find that this one household's expenditure contributed over a third of the total agricultural expenditures reported by all households during October. As we noted in the discussion of agricultural income, there are a few Basotho like this man who invest heavily in the equipment for providing agricultural services to others. Our data indicate the importance that these few entrepreneurs with their capital intensive approach have in the local agricultural economy.

Apart from ploughing costs, other agricultural expenditures were small, even in October. There were only nine households which bought seeds in October: four bought small amounts for garden use, and five bought seed for field planting. Only three of the 33 households invested in fertilizer during October, despite a government program bringing it to the village for sale. Other

small amounts were spent on animal food, plough repairs, sheep shearing, and the purchase of pigs. If there were any larger investments made in livestock during the year, these were not recorded by the wives who kept the account books. One migrant did in fact bring home three cattle which he had bought in South Africa; as with other expenditures made by migrant men, there was no way for us to include this item in our calculations.

Other Miscellaneous Expenditures. The remaining 7.7% of the average monthly expenditures includes such diverse items as transportation, taxes or court fees, entertainment, gifts, charity, payments of debts, savings, lost money and miscellaneous investments. None of these items was large enough nor important enough to all households to be listed separately, although several deserve special mention.

Transportation would actually constitute a much larger item if the costs of migrants trips home were included. Our data only lists costs incurred by non-migrant members, primarily local hauling by truck, a few bus trips to Maseru and other parts of Lesotho, and one trip by train to Bloemfontein.

The annual tax of M6.00 was reported by only one household, perhaps because it is only men, not women, who must pay it. Also included in this category are several payments of a loti or two for radio licences and court expenses.

Small donations given to church and to bereaved villagers have been included, as well as larger amounts of money given or loaned to relatives. A few families recorded monthly insurance payments; others contributed to beer-based rotating savings clubs. The only large savings recorded were payments of M31.80 and M45.00 which one family made to the local Credit Union, an association through which the woman was later to arrange tractor ploughing of her field. This organization, which is a very important means of saving and investment in some parts of Lesotho, involved only three of the two hundred and ninety six village households studied. Perhaps this is because of the proximity of commercial banks in the town of Mphahle's Hoek.

A few miscellaneous investment items have been recorded, such as one truck owner's petrol costs, the herbalist's medical supplies, and a woman's purchase of perfume for resale. There is one other very important investment item which deserves special attention. This is the cost of supplies for home brewing. In our discussion of food we said that many brewing expenditures such as sugar, flour, yeast, etc. could not be isolated from ordinary food purchases. However, in cases where the respondents specifically indicated that money was spent on brewing supplies, we listed these amounts separately. For the whole sample this accounts for only 1.5% of average monthly cash expenditure, while brewing income accounts

for 7.2% of average monthly income. For women who brew with their own supplies of sorghum, or who include brewing supplies with other food items, we had no way to assess investments or net profits. However, one case in which details were given regularly illustrates the importance of cash flows associated with brewing. This is a large household headed by a widow with two sons who are migrant workers. Brewing and income from brewing-based savings associations amounted to an average of M36.06 per month, or 35.9% of her average monthly income. Recorded money spent on brewing supplies as well as contributions to brewing-based savings associations average M21.80 per month, or 10% of her average monthly expenditure.

Differences in Expenditure Patterns

Table 12 and Figure 10 present the data on expenditure, broken down by sub-group rather than by month. It can be seen that there is a higher level of total expenditure, as there is of cash income, in Group A households than in either of the other groups.

The amounts spent on clothing and education are highest for Group C households, despite their lower level of cash flows. Perhaps this is because they include more adolescent school children than either of the other two groups.

Group A spent considerably more on house construction than the two older groups, for the young migrants' families are still preoccupied with establishing their own independent homes. We have already noted the exceptional expenditures of a few Group B families on furniture which made the average spending by this group on household equipment unusually large.

Finally, we have noted the importance of cash investments in agriculture by the young migrants' households, even though some of them do not yet have fields. In contrast, many older female headed households and those with resident men obtain ploughing by using their own cattle and male labour, or by assistance from relatives, by sharecropping, or by exchange of labour or produce.

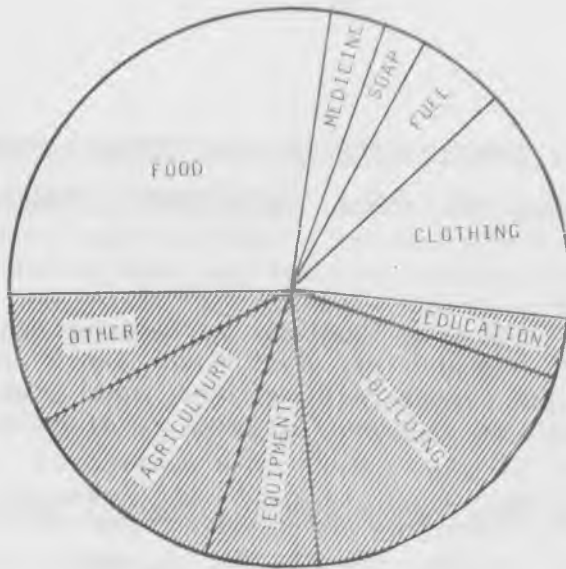
In addition to such differences between sub-groups, we have already noted striking differences between members of the sub-groups in patterns of expenditure as well as income.

Table 12

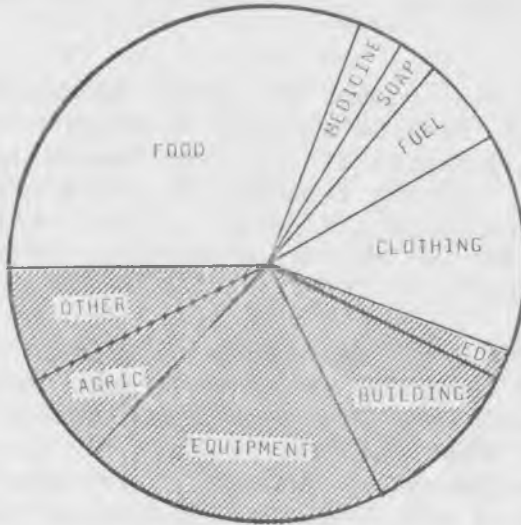
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE PER MONTH
FOR EACH SUB-GROUP
AVERAGED OVER ALL FOUR REPORTED MONTHS

Types of expenditure	Group A Migrant male head		Group B Resident male head		Group C Female head	
	M	%	M	%	M	%
Food and drink	25.23	27.8	24.15	31.1	24.29	33.5
Medical, toiletries	2.77	3.1	2.24	2.9	2.96	4.1
Cleansing materials	2.20	2.4	1.83	2.4	1.76	2.4
Fuel	4.72	5.2	4.28	5.5	3.96	5.5
Clothing	12.61	13.9	10.67	13.8	17.47	24.1
Education, stationery	3.20	3.5	1.45	1.9	5.43	7.5
House building	16.20	17.9	8.09	10.4	1.08	1.5
Household equipment	4.63	5.1	14.77	19.1	6.90	9.5
Agriculture	12.33	13.6	4.28	5.5	2.54	3.5
Other	6.71	7.4	5.77	7.4	6.09	8.4
TOTAL	90.60	99.9*	77.52	100.0	72.45	100.0

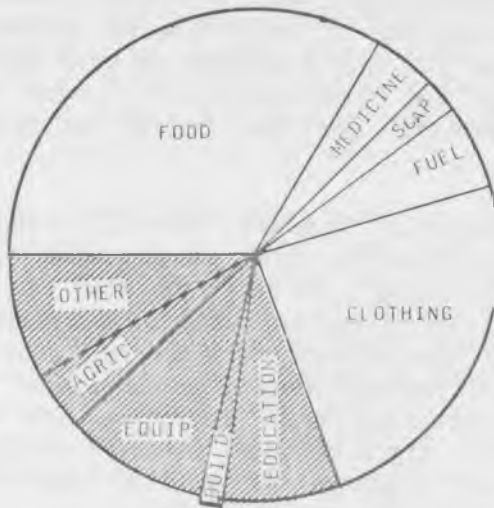
* Rounding Error



Group A
Migrant male head
M90.60



Group B
Resident male head
M77.52



Group C
Female head
M72.45

Figure 10: HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE PER MONTH FOR EACH SUB-GROUP
AVERAGED OVER ALL FOUR REPORTED MONTHS

7. CONCLUSION: CONSTRAINTS ON THE RURAL ECONOMY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Five themes emerge from the findings we have presented, and from the larger research project of which they are a part. Each of these may be seen as a constraint on the rural economy, yet each has certain positive implications for rural development strategies.

Dominance of Migrant Remittances and Male Migrant Labour

The integration of Lesotho within the Southern African economy and hence her present dependence upon South African industry, agriculture and commerce, are reflected in both income and expenditure data.

We have seen the degree of rural household dependence on migrant remittances. Despite cutbacks in migrant recruitment since 1977, employment opportunities for men remain much greater and salaries are higher in the Republic of South Africa than within Lesotho. Migrant earnings are vital to the nation's economy, contributing over 40% of the Gross National Product in the late nineteen-seventies (28).

The negative side of dependence on migrant earnings is the social and physical hardships which may result from migrant labour, the absence of young men from the local labour force, and the financial distress when remittances fail to arrive. Wives and children may be neglected or deserted, marriages may be broken, or men may be disabled or killed, thus destroying the rural economic base of the family on whose behalf the man became a migrant in the first place. Recognizing these problems, government and labour organizations must continue to work towards adequate compensation, pensions and help for ill and disabled workers and their families, more effective ways for remittances to reach rural households regularly, and mechanisms for the relief of deserted wives and children.

Despite the costs of migrant labour, this great inflow of money makes a contribution to rural development to the extent that it is circulated to other members of the rural community and invested in ways that build up the rural productive potential rather than dissipated on non-productive imported consumer goods. As long as migrant remittances remain so important to the national economy, it seems essential that policy-makers design strategies to assist individual migrants and their families in productive local investments and transfer of skills learned at work to the rural environment.

Limited Economic Opportunities for Rural Women

We have mentioned the eagerness with which many rural women seek wage employment and informal income-generating opportunities, despite their family and agricultural responsibilities. In particular we have noted the importance of these activities to female-headed households without migrant wage earners.

Policy-makers have raised the question of whether female employment and income-generating projects in rural areas may be a disincentive to agricultural production. Although more research is needed, the argument that this is not necessarily the case would seem to have found some support in our study. One of the activities from which women in our sample derived the most income was the brewing and selling of beer -- an activity directly related to agriculture, and a stimulus for the cultivation of sorghum. Other important activities which enhance local food production, improve nutrition, and may produce small cash incomes are vegetable gardening and the rearing of poultry and pigs. Where income-generating activities are linked to agricultural production, there is obviously no conflict. When women have off-farm employment, agricultural work is not necessarily neglected. Some women only seek part-time jobs or join food-for-work projects at slack agricultural labour periods. Women who manage to find regular year-round paid employment often hire other women to do their domestic work, mind their children, and hoe in their fields. Or they may turn to female relatives who may otherwise have little productive work to do. Thus, some of the poorest village women without fields or other resources are drawn into the agricultural or domestic labour force, releasing better-educated women for formal wage employment. Some village women also accept additional agricultural labour if their own work is finished, and if adequate wages are offered for work on government projects or on the fields of others. Before making generalizations about the possible negative effects of female wage labour and income-generating activities on agriculture, it is essential to assess the degree of under-employment of rural women and to study the complex existing networks whereby many women manage to maintain domestic and agricultural responsibilities while still earning cash incomes.

Our study has shown that the need for money to supplement agricultural production is so great and male migrant remittances so undependable that many rural women will struggle to obtain cash by whatever means are possible. If more productive activities are not available, the energies of many women will continue to be focused on brewing, and the incomes of many men will be dissipated. Policy-makers should work to create new opportunities for female employment and income-generating projects, particularly those based on activities which will improve the quality of rural life, health, nutrition, housing and education. Emphasis should be given to the production and sale of food, clothing, improved building materials, and locally-made furnishings, and the provision of essential services (29). Rural job creation should continue

in areas of public works such as roads and village water systems, but might be expanded to include more non-professional but literate women in education and the health services.

Dominance of South African Imported Consumer Goods

In a discussion of Lesotho's dependence on migrant earnings and imported commodities, Gray, Robertson and Walton have pointed out that 'a direct corollary of the lack of local production at a time of expanding incomes has been a rapid increase in imports, from M22.9 million in 1970 to M199.4 million in 1977' (30), and M237 million 1978.

A detailed analysis of our household expenditure records illustrates this dependence on South African products: we see imported food, clothing, blankets, fuel, building supplies, household equipment, furniture and other consumer goods. Thus much of the money which migrants bring into Lesotho is almost immediately repatriated in exchange for the products of South African industry and agriculture. An analysis of the accounts of one migrant's wife, for example, revealed that about 95% of her cash expenditure was for South African or multi-national products (31). Such patterns of consumer spending are encouraged by advertising and merchandizing which penetrate to the remotest corners of Lesotho.

Encouragement of local production and marketing must be more than just a catchword in Lesotho. Genuine efforts must be made to reduce the free flow of South African goods into Lesotho and to encourage local production and hence the redistribution of migrant earnings within Lesotho. Training, assistance, credit facilities and protection should be given to entrepreneurs and producers at the rural village and town level, not just at the level of highly capitalized Maseru and Maputsoe - based enterprises. Particular care must be taken that South African business, should not be permitted to assume the guise of local enterprises claiming to help Lesotho become independent, and thus undermine the efforts of small Basotho entrepreneurs.

Recognizing the inevitability of Lesotho remaining a consumer-oriented society for some years to come, efforts at consumer education programs and consumer protection legislation are urgently needed. In schools, adult education programs and voluntary organization meetings, consumers should be taught to detect false advertising and deceptive packaging, to assess relative nutritional value and unit cost of products, and to understand the operation of banks, life insurance companies and hire-purchase plans. They should be encouraged to invest in goods with productive potential, to avoid useless luxury commodities, and to patronize local industry wherever possible. Outlets for products from Basotho enterprises should be found in the more remote towns, and marketing assistance should be given to all local producers.

To the extent that South African wholesalers and retailers do continue to play important roles in the rural marketing system, they should be encouraged to import products which are of benefit to rural development, rather than impractical luxury goods which do nothing but extract money from Basotho migrants and their families. Typical of imported goods which have improved the quality of rural life have been ploughs, planters and tools, cooking utensils, paraffin stoves, bottles for preserving fruit, sewing and knitting machines, etc. Similar constructive innovations could be made in new areas such as solar water heating units, rain water gutters and storage tanks, improved tools and supplies for farming and building, etc. By marketing appropriate, energy-efficient technological devices and tools, rather than ornate cupboards or china tea sets, such trading companies might contribute to the development rather than the exploitation of Lesotho.

Marginal Productivity of Local Agriculture

We have seen what a small contribution agriculture makes to the incomes of rural households, particularly in the dry southern portion of Lesotho, where this study was conducted. For this area at least, agriculture does not seem to be significant as a commercial enterprise, yet it continues to be an activity to which much time and energy are devoted.

We have noted that agriculture is particularly important as a subsistence activity to households with little cash income. It is seen as a source of food and sorghum for brewing. With such farmers in mind, self-sufficiency in food production is a much more appropriate goal than production of high-risk cash crops. In striving to increase food production, however, there is a great danger in turning the fields over to outside agencies who will cultivate them using advanced mechanized methods which render the local population totally marginal to the farming operation. This may destroy local initiative, willingness to work, and existing cooperative structures. Women who can weed and harvest, men who plough and cultivate, and local entrepreneurs who have invested in tractors must not be pushed aside. Ways must be found to continue the traditional involvement with the land for those Basotho who want it, and to train and assist them in more effective cultivation, gardening and animal husbandry.

Rural Differentiation

In discussing the implications of the economic differentiation which exists in Lesotho, we must consider both the relation of the rural population to other groups within Southern Africa and the distinctions within the rural group itself.

From the first perspective, we recognise that most Basotho are exploited members of a rural proletariat in a labour reserve economy. South African industry extracts surplus value by taking the labour it needs, while forcing the pauperised periphery to bear the costs of reproducing the labour force. Thus, all of the population with which this study is concerned may be considered disadvantaged in relation to their white South African neighbours. In addition, the rural populace often feels itself disadvantaged in relation to Lesotho's growing urban elite -- the national leaders, bureaucrats, businessmen, and professionals.

From the second perspective, we have noted the great range of economic circumstances of the villagers whose household accounts we have studied: landless or land-holding, wageless or wage-dependent, local traders, self-employed craftsmen, salaried professionals or the utterly destitute (32). Colin Murray has pointed out difficulties in explaining the class position of villagers in Lesotho. He suggests that this is problematic because 'they occupy different class positions both simultaneously and serially' (33). That is, different household members in radically different positions may contribute simultaneously to the family income: the husband as an urban industrial worker, the wife as a rural cultivator, the mother as a petty trader in beer, the daughter as a cafe clerk, and the son as a bank clerk, businessman or civil servant. We have also seen how the family members may occupy different class positions serially, depending on migrant earning for ten or twenty years, then the proceeds from agriculture, then on small business ventures, and perhaps finally on nothing but charity, should physical or economic disaster overtake them. It is the natural process of household development, compounded by the migrant labour system, which creates these anomalies, forcing family members to live in different economic spheres, dividing individual lifespans into discontinuous segments, and subjecting migrants and dependents to sudden devastating disasters. Murray concludes that

differentiation in Lesotho must be analysed with reference both to the developmental cycle of the rural household and to the contradictory forces of capitalist accumulation as they apply to the labour reserve (34).

Rather than engaging in academic debate concerning the proper definition of the class position of the rural Basotho, or theorising about their potential roles in the class struggle, I should like to focus on the immediate and practical development implications of the rural differentiation which we have noted.

First, the fact that virtually all rural Basotho are disadvantaged both in relation to the white South Africans and to many urban Basotho means that special compensatory effort must be focused on the economic development of Lesotho's rural areas.

But within these areas, attention must be given to different segments of the population, with careful analysis of the economic strategies, needs and potentials of each group.

For example, there are some households which are temporarily disadvantaged because of their position within the household developmental cycle. Thus there are propertyless young families, lacking fields, and livestock -- perhaps even lacking houses and furnishing -- yet having substantial inflows of cash from migrant earnings. There are other families which are disadvantaged because they are in the declining years of their lives, rejected by the South Africa labour market which has taken their best productive years and perhaps broken their health and spirits. They may have houses and fields, but lack the financial means or the physical capacity to utilize these assets. There are others who experience economic deprivation because of unexpected disasters to which any rural household of any age is vulnerable: illness, death, childlessness, desertion, divorce. In none of these cases can we describe the disadvantaged as a special class -- there is not common material base, no sense of common identity, and no certainty that their children will follow in their footsteps. In Basotho society, there already exist certain types of economic partnerships such as agricultural sharecropping (seahlolo) and livestock loans (mafisa), whereby such households worked together to complement each other's resources without destroying each other's independence or dignity. Every effort should be made to understand and encourage such indigeneous cooperative partnerships.

In contrast to the disadvantaged households, there are others which seem unusually advantaged in relation to their neighbours, with larger than average in-flows of cash or accumulated assets, and higher than average expenditures. Some of these households invest their money in productive assets and devote their time, energy and training to local agricultural production, income-generating activities, and commercial enterprises. Such entrepreneurially-oriented villagers may be condemned as a rural petty bourgeoisie, making money at the expense of their fellow villagers; conversely they may be regarded pragmatically as an enterprising core of progressive farmers and potential agents of social change -- people who will make the most of whatever financial and educational opportunities are available to them in ways that can prove advantageous to themselves as well as to their fellow villagers.

Consider, for example, the position of one such entrepreneurial family in the village studied. Many villagers went to their cafe almost daily to buy goods which only this family provided within the village. People also came to appeal for transport if they had a sick relative, a midnight childbirth, or a coffin to carry. Although they had to pay for the use of the truck, they at least knew that emergency transport was available through this family. The family gave employment to a surprising number of villagers

-- to more, in fact, than many highly capitalized Maseru enterprises, although at lower salaries. They employed two men to make cement blocks, two boys and an old man to herd and haul and plough, a man to butcher sheep, a girl to sell meat in the butcher shop, another girl to sell in the cafe, a woman to clean and do laundry in the home, and a woman to brew beer. They also assisted a relative to start a poultry business, hired ten village women to hoe their fields in February, and gave piece-work, food and other assistance to five destitute widows who lived nearby. With both oxen and a tractor they ploughed and hauled farm produce and building supplies for many villagers -- always for a price, of course. A household such as this can bring goods, services and employment to the community as well as advancing its own economic position. In a village leadership survey the male household head was mentioned more frequently than any other village man as a leader, a rich man, a knowledgeable man, a helper; and in a survey concerning female role models, his wife was mentioned more often than any other woman as the person the respondents wished to emulate because, they said, 'she lacks nothing'.

To the extent that such families can give their children the advantages of good nutrition, medical care, advanced education and thus broadened employment opportunities, they are preparing the next generation to move even beyond their own economic position. Similarly, to the extent that the children of the poorest rural families are deprived of such opportunities and are thus predisposed to the medical, economic and social problems of the least-educated migrant workers or their dependents, and the growing unemployed masses, they too will continue in the economic footsteps of their parents. With Lesotho's expanding urban elite and increased mine salaries for those workers fortunate enough to have dependable mine jobs, as well as the new Land Act, it seems likely that the gap between Basotho with land and secure well-paid employment, and the poverty-stricken, growing number of landless, and poorly-educated unemployment is bound to grow rapidly (35).

Thus the rural economic differentiation we have noted points to the emergence of new forms of class distinctions within Lesotho. To fail to recognize this and to lump all villagers together under some catchword such as 'the rural proletariat', 'the Basotho peasants', or 'the poorest of the poor' would be unrealistic. One would then be unable to help the diverse segments of the rural population at points of greatest need, and would lose opportunities for creative approaches to rural development based on the diverse potential and indigenous cooperative nuclei of community members themselves.

Specific Suggestions to meet Diverse Economic Needs

The following list suggests types of specific programs which might be carried out to give economic assistance to different segments of the rural population. Some of these have already been included in Lesotho's five-year development plans and other reports. To a degree, existing institutions such as BEDCO (Basotho Enterprise

Development Corporation) the Farmers' Training Centers, the Credit Union, LNDC (Lesotho National Development Corporation), the Institute for Extra Mural Studies of the National University of Lesotho, and various ministries, schools, churches and voluntary agencies are already providing some of these services. But much more is needed, particularly in isolated rural areas.

- (1) For the few truly destitute, isolated individuals, unable to to work and without family to care for them i.e. the elderly, invalided, mentally disabled (no more than 1 or 2% of households).

- Pensions or other assistance to meet basic cash needs for such items as soap, matches, salt, sugar, clothing, etc.
- Free medical aid, including home visits.
- Other caring social services to give counsel and assistance with problems of housing, shopping, fuel, water supply, communication with distant relatives etc.

- (2) For those without wage income, who are disadvantaged by physical, marital or financial circumstances, but who still have the health and potential for productive work, if given the opportunity; i.e. widows, deserted women, the unemployed, and families with no potential wage earner (perhaps 20%-30% of households)

- Support in the cultivation of their own lands should be provided, if they are fieldholders. Integration into local partnerships or cooperatives should be attempted if they lack the capital to cultivate alone.
- Employment opportunities, full-time, part-time and piece-jobs must be created in the rural areas for both men and women. Food-aid projects should be supplemented by cash-earning opportunities because there are so many needs which can only be met with money. In addition to existing labour-intensive road construction and other public works, there could be expansion in paid jobs for literate rural women as teacher-aids in the over-crowded schools, as paid village-health workers, and as casual labourers in agriculture.
- Income-generating activities of all sorts should be initiated and supported. For this group of disadvantaged villagers, lacking the initiative or capital to begin their own projects, extra assistance in the form of training, loans, supplies and marketing must be given, on the model of the CARE mohair spinning project. Special encouragement should be given to cooperative societies and group projects whereby the

skills and initiative of certain individuals could assist weaker neighbours. Studies should be made of why certain cooperative projects such as communal gardens, have failed in the past and how such problems could be avoided.

- Adequate and free education, vocational training, medical care and supplementary food should be available for all rural children so that the next generation need not be heirs to their parents' misfortunes.

(3) For the ordinary village households which depend primarily on migrant wages but also maintain rural production and social life. Many would be open to innovative rural development if given training, material support and active encouragement. In particular, young husbands and wives at the early stages of homestead development might benefit from such projects as the following:

- Assistance in homestead development, such as the provision of training courses for migrants on leave, resident men, and wives, dealing with such subjects as cost-efficient house design, construction methods, building materials, heat and water saving construction, proper drainage and sanitation. This would help them whether they do their own building or hire local builders. Advice could be given on other homestead improvements, such as fencing, garden design, water systems, livestock and chicken enclosures etc. Assistance in obtaining economical building materials and utilizing local resources more effectively should be included.
- Legal advice concerning the implications of the new Land Act of 1979 should be given, combined with encouragement of the type of site and field improvements the act was designed to stimulate.
- Assistance in agriculture: Training and help in field cultivation, gardening, composting, erosion control, livestock and small animal care should continue to be provided. There should be particular efforts to reach young migrants when they are home on leave as well as their wives, in order to encourage wise investment plans, shared decision-making, and informed management of rural assets while husbands are away.
- Training in child and maternal health and nutrition, combined with sanitation, gardening, budgeting and consumer education could be expanded aspects of existing under-five clinics as well as school curricula, church women's groups, and adult education programs. Information regarding family

planning should be included and aimed at men as well as women.

- Consumer education programs, including not only consumer goods and major household investments but advice on saving, banking, insurance, credit and planning for children's education.

(4) For the rural entrepreneurs, including those who are able and eager to invest in agriculture, commerce, construction, and other small-scale crafts and industry (perhaps 10-20% of households). Female-headed households are in particular need of income-generating opportunities and may have more freedom and time for such activities than rural wives. Academic and vocational schools, the Farmers' Training Centres, decentralized versions of BEDCO, other voluntary, groups and government ministries could offer village men and women:

- Training in specific productive skills such as carpentry, sheetmetal work, construction, carpentry, brick-making and brick-laying, leather work, machine knitting and sewing, agricultural mechanics, use of insecticides etc.
- Assistance in innovative design and supply of materials to help local craftsmen undertake new projects such as rain water collection tanks and gutter systems, latrines, locally-made doors and windows, etc.
- Credit facilities at the rural level to assist in establishing small businesses and cottage industries as well as agricultural investment.
- Training in book-keeping and simple management skills.
- Assistance in marketing products of home or village industry. Thus women who knit or sew or tie-dye fabrics on an irregular basis could be helped to turn these hobbies into viable cottage industries.
- Assistance in bringing repair and maintenance services to those who need them, and provision of training, tools and spare parts or supplies to people who can provide such services as: repair of agricultural implements, saddles, shoes, watches, radios, sewing and knitting machines, etc.
- Contacts with like-minded farmers, craftsmen and entrepreneurs in other rural and urban areas. On the one hand Maseru - based training and support programs could be brought to rural groups. On the other hand, isolated rural entrepreneurs and craftsmen could be enabled to visit areas where certain skills have become effective local industries.

For example, a woman with the only knitting machine in her area might be able to spend several weeks with a machine knitting group in some other area, thus increasing her skills, knowledge of design and materials, machine maintenance and marketing.

Indexing Rural Development Resources as a Basis for Economic Assistance.

It is hoped that this list of suggestions, together with the specific data and more general analysis which has preceded it, will encourage those already working to improve the quality of rural life in Lesotho, as well as stimulate others to design more specific projects with the concrete needs and potential of Lesotho's diverse rural population in mind. In order to accomplish this, research should be done to determine rural people's perception of their own needs and to inventory existing resources and skills within local communities, as well as existing informal partnerships, associations and cooperative economic structures. Similarly, research should be done at both the district and national level to prepare a comprehensive listing of existing programs, projects, services, skilled individuals and other resources of both governmental and private agencies. Different projects and agencies, and widely dispersed extension agents, district workers and concerned individuals are often unaware that the resources to meet many of the above-mentioned needs already exist within Lesotho. Before expensive new foreign projects are introduced, every effort should be made to recognize, utilise and strengthen the resources already at hand. This is the basis of true self-reliance in rural development.

8. FOOTNOTES

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5. Judith S. Gay, Basotho Women's Options: A Study of Marital Careers in Rural Lesotho (Ph.D dissertation, Cambridge University, 1980).
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7. A.C.A. van der Wiel, Migratory Wage Labour: Its Role in the Economy of Lesotho (Lesotho: Mazenod Book Centre, 1977).
8. See Marres and van der Wiel, p. 48, 60; and T. Khaketla, An Update of Poverty Datum Line, unpublished senior dissertation, National University of Lesotho, 1979.
9. Marres and van der Wiel, op. cit., p. 3-11.
10. van der Wiel, op. cit., p. 88.
11. See also J.H. Gay, 'Attitudes to Marketing by Better Farming Families' (Maseru, Ministry of Agriculture, 1979) on the importance of brewing and the small amount of grain sold outside the village.
12. G. Wilken, Profiles of Basotho Farmers, Lesotho Agricultural Sector Analysis Project, Discussion Paper No.8 (Maseru: Ministry of Agriculture, 1979).
13. See Colin Murray, Keeping A House in Lesotho: A Study of the Impact of Oscillating Migration (Ph.D dissertation, Cambridge

- University, 1976); S.D. Turner, Sesotho Farming: The Conditions and Prospects of Agriculture in the Lowlands and Foothills (Ph.D dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1978); and Gay, Basotho Women's Options.
14. van der Wiel, op. cit., p. 69; and International Labour Organization, Jobs and Skills Program for Africa, Options for a Dependent Economy: Development, Employment and Equity Problems in Lesotho (Addis Ababa, 1979).
 15. See J. Gray, N. Robertson and M. Walton, 'Lesotho: A Strategy for Survival after the Golden Seventies', South African Labour Bulletin, vol. 6 No.4 (1980), p. 62-78.
 16. van der Wiel, op. cit., p. 82.
 17. S. Poulter, Family Law and Litigation in Basotho Society (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 185.
 18. Judith S. Gay, 'Basotho Women Migrants: A Case Study', Institute of Development Studies Bulletin, vol. 11 No.3 (1980); and Judith S. Gay, 'Wage Employment of Basotho Women', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol. 6 No.6 (1980).
 19. Gay, Basotho Women's Options, p. 246- 252.
 20. van der Wiel, op. cit., p. 88; and International Labour Organization, op. cit., p. 228-230.
 21. International Labour Organization, op. cit., p. 98.
 22. Gay, Basotho Women's Options, p. 197-212.
 23. Wilken, op. cit., p. 24.
 24. ILO, Options for a Dependent Economy, p. 248.
 25. van der Wiel, op. cit., p. 88.
 26. Compare Lesotho Government, op. cit., p. 37-39.
 27. World Bank, 'Lesotho, Agricultural Review, the Role of Women', Annex 3 (1980), p. 10.
 28. Gray, Robertson and Walton, op. cit., p. 63.
 29. Ibid., p. 74-76; and Lesotho Government, Second Five Year Development Plan 1975/76 - 1979/80, Vol. I (Maseru, Central Planning and Development Office, 1975).
 30. Gray, Robertson and Walton, op. cit., p. 63.

31. Gay, Basotho Women's Options, p. 146-7.
32. See A.D. Spiegel, Migrant Labour Remittances: Rural Differentiation and the Development Cycle in a Lesotho Community (MA dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1979).
33. Colin Murray, 'From Granary to Labour Reserve: an Economic History of Lesotho', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.6 No.4 (1980), p. 17.
34. Ibid.
35. See Colin Murray, '"Stabilization" and Structural Unemployment', South African Labour Bulletin, Vol.6 No.4 (1980).

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APPENDIX

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

During the fourteen months in which I lived and worked in Ha Potsane, I participated in the domestic, agricultural and recreational life of the village, as well as conducting a number of systematic studies using research schedules I will summarize here.

I was assisted in language study, as well as in interviewing transcribing, translating and data tabulation by three female research assistants. Unfortunately I was unable to find a male assistant who was willing to work regularly at the level of pay I could afford. However, many villagers, both male and female, gave occasional assistance.

During the research period I attended village meetings, dispute hearings at the chief's office and the local court, feasts, funerals, marriage negotiations, worship services, beer drinks, work groups and other public and family occasions. Detailed notes were kept of my observations of the occasions themselves, of explanations which participants gave afterwards, and of the "action-sets" of individuals who were involved. In addition to such participant observation and informal interviewing, the following structured interviews or studies were carried out. Only a small portion of the data collected in these studies has been analysed and reported in my thesis or in this paper. However, it has all contributed to my general understanding of the context of that which is reported in detail.

A: Surveys of All Households in Ha Potsane

1. First Household Census. During October and November of 1976, soon after I moved into the village, the household head or other informant of each of the 296 households was interviewed. Questions provided basic demographic information as well as details about educational and employment histories of individual members and agricultural and material assets of the household. Only one household refused to be interviewed, and in three cases no household member was in the village during the survey period. In these cases a limited amount of information was obtained from neighbours or relatives. Most of the actual interviews were conducted in Sesotho by one of the research assistants, who also recorded responses. I was present but made additional notes on homestead development, domestic arrangements and family life, after I explained the purpose of our study and exchanged greetings in my then limited Sesotho.

2. Second Household Census. A year later, each household was again interviewed to correct and up-date information just before I left

the village. Corrections were made in red ink on the original household survey forms, so changes could be identified. In addition, questions were asked concerning agricultural activities, homestead development, brewing, migrant workers' periods of home leave during 1977, marriages and fosterage.

Details from the second household census were coded and entered on computer at the University of Cambridge during 1979. Two files were created: one for households (296 cases) containing 79 basic variables, and one for individuals (1484 cases), containing 68 basic variables). The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was utilized to assist in data processing. Most of the numerical data in the thesis is based on information obtained in this second household census.

3. Agricultural Cooperation Survey. In November and December of 1976, each household was interviewed concerning its agricultural activities, with particular emphasis on cooperative activities in farming and livestock care. Details concerning migrant workers' home leaves, activities while at home, feasts and decision-making were also asked.

We had hoped to interview all 296 households in this survey, but in fact we were only able to contact and obtain cooperation from 227 households. We had thought that agriculture would be a fairly neutral topic which villagers would be willing to discuss freely, even before I had been in the village long enough to build up much trust or rapport. In fact we met considerable resistance from some people who feared that we represented the government or some kind of agricultural development project which intended to 'take away their fields' and force people into a government-controlled cooperative agricultural project. Hence some people refused to answer at all, and others may not have answered with full candour, particularly regarding field size and yields. Details of specific cooperative arrangements, however, appear to be more accurate, for names of partners and other indentifying details are given.

Matrix type of analysis was used on sharecropping, ploughing and women's cooperative activities to reveal patterns of agricultural cooperation. For tabulation of agricultural assets we used the information obtained on the second household census, collected after a year of village residence when rapport was better and we had enough knowledge of each household to assess the accuracy of the census answers.

B: Surveys and Interviews Schedules Involving Subgroups Within the Village

1. Income and Expenditure Records. 33 households kept records

of household cash flows during January, April, July and October. Households were selected in order to sample different ages, marital conditions, and households with and without migrant wage earners. Unfortunately, small households headed by elderly non-literate people, and large prosperous households engaging in diverse business enterprises, were not adequately represented; such households were either unable to keep written records, or were unable or unwilling to take the time to record their complex economic activities. The 33 which did participate kept written records in ruled exercise books, which were collected and tabulated at the end of each month. Participants were visited weekly by one of the research assistants who gave encouragement and help as needed.

2. Time Allocation Study. From a stratified sample of adults, women were interviewed late at night or first thing the following morning, concerning the activities of two different days, at least a week apart. A standard form was used to record the reported activities of the person interviewed, as well as the activities of other members of the household. These interviews were supplemented by a few cases of self-reporting in detail, and a few cases of observation, which helped us assess the accuracy of the reports obtained by recollection. A more detailed and accurate time and motion study would have been illuminating but would have taken a disproportionate amount of time. The activities of a smaller group of men and of teenage boys and girls were also investigated, but not in as much detail.

3. Marriage Surveys. 24 women were interviewed regarding details about their marriages, pregnancies and child-births. The group was not intended to be a representative sample. Questioning was necessarily confined to women with whom the researchers had established enough rapport to ask and expect frank answers, and about whom we had other information to corroborate the details given in interviews. Simplified questions concerning marriage and bridewealth were asked of all households in the second household census. Major items included in the marriage survey were:

- (a) Date, type of marriage, and kinship relation between partners.
- (b) If elopement, reasons for this type of marriage.
- (c) Other rituals, blessings etc.
- (d) Amount, type and dates of bridewealth transaction.
- (e) From whom did bridewealth come, and to whom was it paid?
- (f) Amount, date and contents of dowry if any.
- (g) Details of all pregnancies.

- (h) Length of time husband and wife lived together and time separated by migrant labour.
- (i) Details if widowed or separated.

4. Teenage Attitudes concerning Friendship and Marriage. All the teenagers in the eastern end of the village were interviewed. A young woman conducted interviews with the 30 girls, and a young man interviewed the 24 boys. Questions asked included:

- (a) When you hear the word, friend, marriage, my husband/wife, what are the first things you think of?
- (b) What do you enjoy doing with your friend?
- (c) Who are your best friends? (age, grade, school, work of each) (designed for constructing a teenage sociogram)
- (d) Of all the men/women of the village, whom do you most like/get along with? (designed to illuminate role models)
- (e) With whom have you most recently done certain key activities?
- (f) Who would you most like to resemble when you grow up?
- (g) What do you want to be when you grow up?
- (h) Do you want to marry or not? Why?
- (i) What kind of a person do you want to marry?
- (j) Have you ever wished to be a person of the opposite sex (boy/girl)?

5. Women's Attitudes and Values. A sample of 20 women, stratified by age and marital condition, were asked questions concerning their attitudes, values and aspirations. Questions asked included:

- (a) What is necessary for a good life, and how can it be obtained?
- (b) What are a woman's most serious problems and how can they be overcome?
- (c) Is it more important to educate sons or daughters?
Is it better for a girl to marry or to be educated?

(d) If you had 500 maloti, what would you do with it?

My inability to find a male research assistant to conduct interviews made it difficult to include a male group of respondents in this and several other surveys.

6. Sentence Completions Concerning Marriage. Interviews were conducted with 30 women, and 20 men, to study attitudes about marriage. The instrument involved consisted of a set of sentence completions on a model developed by John Gay in connection with other cognitive studies in Liberia and Lesotho. Twenty sentence introducers were given, such as 'I think that... I know that ... I have been told that', etc. The respondents were asked to complete each to make 20 sentences concerning marriage. The responses were to have been coded and processed by cluster analysis on the computer; unfortunately pressure of time did not allow for full analysis of these data although many of the responses shed important light on the central themes of the thesis.

7. Leadership Survey. A stratified sample of about 20 men and 20 women were interviewed concerning individuals in the village whom they regarded as important people. We elicited responses by using qualities which we had first obtained by asking a preliminary group about what makes a person important. We then asked those in the sample to name an individual fitting each description. The description included such qualities as:

- (a) Most respected person ...
- (b) Someone who organises village activities ...
- (c) Someone who gives advice ...
- (d) Someone who knows old things ...
- (e) A rich or successful person ...

We then asked for the names of any other men or women they regarded as important but who had not been mentioned in the above descriptions.

8. Local Employment Survey. We interviewed almost all of the women and some men who had wage employment in the village or in the town. This gave important details about wages, working conditions, motivations and household management to supplement the brief employment histories contained in the basic household census.

9. Beer Brewing and Selling Study. On two different weeks, a research assistant visited every house in the village where home-brewed beer (joala) or important beer or spirits were on sale. In each house she asked about the type of drink available,

the quantity brewed, and the estimated expenses, receipts and profit. She also noted the number of customers by age and sex.

10. Pyramid-buying Network Study. There were a number of households, particularly those of young newly married women, who made mail-order purchases through a pyramid-buying scheme. Most bought household furnishings and linens. Purchases involved a complicated pyramid-buying scheme, in which each participant persuaded three friends to give her M6.50, with which she ordered something for herself; they in turn received catalogues and the chance to find three friends to contribute to their purchase. We interviewed all participants and traced the specific links between the women involved in this mail-order network.

11. Genealogies. Detailed genealogies of the major lineages of the village were collected early in the research period. These provided an invaluable reference for much of the subsequent analysis of social and economic relations throughout the research, data analysis and writing-up phases.

12. Diaries. 15 village women kept diaries for several weeks or months. Some recorded their own daily activities and feelings, while others recorded observations, conversations and events in the village. One wrote an extended drama, a portion of which has been included in the thesis. Others wrote short essays on topics such as marriage, friendship, adultery etc. All the diaries were written in Sesotho.

13. Tape-recorded Life-Histories and Other Interviews. A number of interviews were recorded and transcribed. The majority were with every woman I could contact who had ever worked in the Republic of South Africa. They told about their lives, reasons for going to work, their wages and working conditions, and experiences with passport regulations, police, employers and fellow workers. Other village informants were interviewed about a variety of topics throughout the research year.

14. Drawings. Children often came to visit, play and draw at my home in the village. Several more structured investigations were made. Matched groups of boys and girls were asked to perform two different drawing tasks. On one occasion they were to draw a man, and then a woman, to tell what each person drawn was doing, and then to list other activities typical of what men do, or what women do. On another occasion both boys and girls were asked to draw a fine or beautiful household or home (lelapa le letle). They were then asked to list the things they thought were necessary to make a good home.



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